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MEMOIRS,

ILLUSTRATING THE

Rev'd R. Rodgers

HISTORY OF JACOBINISM,

WRITTEN IN FRENCH BY

THE ABBÉ BARRUEL,

AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

THE HON. ROBERT CLIFFORD, F. R. S. & A. S.

Princes and Nations ſhall diſappear from the face of the Earth—and this REVOLUTION ſhall be the WORK of SECRET SOCIETIES.
Weiſhaupt's Diſcourſe for the Myſteries.

PART IV.——VOL. IV.

ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY; HISTORICAL PART.

First American Edition, from the Second London Edition.

ELIZABETH-TOWN:
Printed by SHEPARD KOLLOCK for CORNELIUS DAVIS, No. 94 *Water-Street, New-York.*

1799.

OBSERVATIONS

On some Articles published in the MONTHLY REVIEW, *relative to the* "MEMOIRS ON JACOBINISM."

THERE are Reviewers of whose approbation I shall ever be proud, because I know the propagation of good principles to be the object of their labors. There are others, however, whose applause would always be hateful to me, because, under the mask of science, they disseminate the principles of Impiety and Rebellion. To which of these classes the *Monthly Review* may belong, I shall not pretend to determine, as I am not in the habit of reading it; but should be sorry to ground my judgment on the account which Dr. Griffiths, or his associates, have given of the *Memoirs of Jacobinism*. In the Appendix to his twenty-fifth Volume, he has loaded me with imputations which I should leave to the good sense of my Reader, were I engaged in a mere literary dispute; but I have denounced the most formidable conspiracy that ever was contrived against Religion and Society. I owe it, therefore, to my cause, and to myself, to prove which of us is most open to the charge of *unfairness*, of *dexterity, or of treacherous ingenuity*. Fortunately the task is not difficult.

Dr. Griffiths is pleased to pass a favorable sentence on my first Volume, treating of the *Conspiracy of the Sophisters against the Altar;* but he says, that the Conspiracy "of the Sophisters "of Rebellion against the Throne is so imperfectly supported "in the second Volume, that he must still ascribe the extinction "of Royalty in France much more to the course of local e-"vents in Paris, than to the previous concert and deliberate "wish of the leaders of the Revolution."—Certainly the Jacobins would not be sorrow to see such an opinion become prevalent, for they also claim the right of saving to Kings, if we attack your thrones you may thank yourselves; it was your perfidy and despotism, much more than the efforts of a Brissot or a Syeyes, that dethroned Lewis XVI; it was more owing to you than to Petion or Robespierre that he was led to the scaffold; and, above all, it was the tyranny of Lewis XVI. that engraved in our hearts that wish to exterminate every King on earth. Dr. Griffiths also finds it more convenient peremptorily to pronounce on the validity of the proofs which I adduce, than to submit any of them to his readers, lest they should draw a very different conclusion. Not a word does he mention of the Letters, of the Systems, of Holbach's Club, of the Central Committee, of the Emissaries of the Grand Orient, of the Declamations and formal Avowals of the adepts Le Roi, Condorcet, Dudin, and his fellow-reviewers of the Mercure. All this must lead us to believe, that Dr. Griffiths is difficult of conviction when he pleases to be so; and that he can with-

hold proofs when he is not in a humour to refute them. So many perſons will take the word of their teachers for granted, that it is unneceſſary for him to condeſcend to give his reaſons. We ſhall ſee whether he will deign to notice Sir Horace Walpole, who ſo long ſince denounced the Conſpiracy of the Sophiſters of Rebellion. If Dr. Griffiths be determined to be blind, I cannot pretend to make him ſee.

2dly, Dr. Griffiths alſo declares, that my poſition "is wholly erroneous," when I ſay, *that Equality and Liberty form the eſſential and perpetual Creed of the Freemaſons.* Here I was tempted to recognize a brother dupe, but he had his reaſons for appearing to be better informed than I was. He then ſpeaks of a communication opened between the Grand Lodges of London and Berlin 1776; and Berlin, he ſays, was at that *æra the very focus of convergence for every ray of modern Philoſophy;* and then he aſks, *were theſe embaſſies mere child's play; or were there Timoleons concealed in the Latomies* (Lodges)? I candidly confeſs, that had I known of theſe communications with the very center of Sophiſtry, ſo far ſhould I have been from retracting my proofs of the Conſpiracy of the Freemaſons, that I ſhould have given them a ſtronger turn. I can alſo aſſure him, that I would not have generalized to ſuch an extent my exception in favor of the Maſonry of the Grand Lodge of London, had I been informed that it could poſſibly have contained members ſo inimical to Kings as that *Timoleon* who aſſaſſinated his brother *Timophane*, for that ſame cauſe of hatred to Royalty in which the Elder *Brutus* became the executioner of his Children, and the Younger Brutus the murderer of Cæſar his benefactor. Let Engliſh Maſons defend themſelves againſt the imputations of Dr. Griffiths; but every reader will perceive, that the method he has adopted to prove that *my poſition was erroneous* is rather extraordinary; for, according to his aſſertions, if I am culpable, it is of having generalized my exception too much in favor of thoſe to whom I tho't no guilt could attach.

When we proceed to the third Volume treating of the Illuminees, and I ſpeak of their Conſpiracy againſt all ſociety, property, and ſciences, then is he far more difficult of perſuaſion. It is here that I am guilty of *treacherous ingenuity*, of *partiality*, and of *unfairneſs*. Let the reader judge to which of us ſuch imputations are the moſt applicable.

3dly, The Reviewer deduces his grand proofs againſt me from the manner in which I have tranſlated two of Weiſhaupt's texts. I muſt own, that one of them gave me a conſiderable deal of trouble, not on account of the language; for the words are clear enough; but on account of the arrant nonſenſe, and, to me, irreconcileable contradiction of this text in the place where it ſtands. To have tranſlated Weiſhaupt literally, we muſt have made him ſay, "*few wants; this is the firſt ſtep towards Li-*" *berty. It is for this reaſon that Savages and the Learned (or* "*men enlightened in the ſupreme degree) are perhaps the only* "*free men, the only independent men.*" I here ſaw a great error in ſtating our men of learning as thoſe who have the *fewe*ſt

wants, or as the freeſt, or as the moſt independent of Society. To enable them to attend ſolely to their ſtudies, they ſtand in need of a ſufficient fortune to relieve them from attention to temporal concerns. They ſtand in need of the labor of others to cloath, lodge, and nourilh them. They are above all others dependent on ſociety for that ſtate of peace and tranquillity ſo neceſſary to the progreſs of ſcience. They muſt, therefore, be monſters of ingratitude if they do not recognize that public authority, without which ſciences muſt baniſh. Put the moſt learned member of the Royal Society into a deſert or a foreſt, and in another part put a country clown, and ſee which of the two will fare beſt, or ſtand moſt in need of the help of others.

But this is not all; Weiſhaupt poſitively aſſerts, that ſlavery is the offspring of the ſciences; and can it follow from ſuch a poſition, that the moſt ſcientific are the freeſt and moſt independent of men? As from a variety of other paſſages I knew that, according to the modern *Spartacus*, no men were really enlightened, unleſs it were the ſavages, or thoſe who wiſhed to carry us back to the ſavage ſtate; I tranſlated it thus:—— "*Hence few wants is the firſt ſtep towards Liberty.—It is* "*for this reaſon, that the ſavages are the moſt enlightened of* "*men, and perhaps they alone are free*;" but I took the precaution to add the German text, ("Darum ſind wilde, und "in höcſtken grad aufgeklärte, vielleicht die einzige freye "menſchen") that each reader might give the ſenſe he choſe to the original. Dr. Griffiths has done more, he has quoted that other text, in which Weiſhaupt literally declares ſlavery to be the offſpring of the ſciences; he nevertheleſs makes Weiſhaupt ſay, *that ſavages and the fully enlightened are perhaps the only free men*. This certainly approaches nearer to a literal tranſlation, and the ſentence taken in the abſtract may be more correct; my tranſlation, however, is conformable to the ſenſe of the diſcourſe; but I have no objection to ſubſtitute that given by Dr. Griffiths, provided a N.B. be added, to warn the reader of the nonſenſe of it, and the groſs contradiction it contains.

4thly, Dr. Griffiths, or the writer he employs, next proceeds to the French.—— "The text of Weiſhaupt expreſly "ſays, *out of our preſent imperfect forms of civil union we* "*ſhall paſs into new and better choſen*; but the Abbé, in "order to attribute to him the perverſe project of perpetu-"ating anarchy, unfairly renders the paſſage as if we were to "paſs back into the ſavage ſtate." Then, as if he had it in his power to quote numberleſs examples of my unfair tranſlations, he adds, "On the topic of *Property*, ſimilar freedoms have "been uſed, with a not leſs *treacherous ingenuity*."

Upon my word Dr. Griffiths here fathers, with great facility, his own failing upon others. Sir, notwithſtanding the baſe and calumnious accuſations which you choſe to vent againſt me, I wrote to you as to a Reviewer upright in his intentions, yet liable to miſtake, but who, after ſuch violent imputations, would condeſcend at leaſt to inſert in a future number of his Review the explanation which I had ſent him. You denied me

this means of defence; I then told you, that I ſhould not leave the public in that error into which your Review might lead them, as in the preſent circumſtances the conſequences might be too dangerous. I requeſted a meeting in order to lay before you *the Original Writings*, and therein to point out evident proofs that your imputations were unjuſt. You refuſed theſe means of rectifying your miſtake. What, then, entitles you to better treatment than you have given to a man who was moſt certainly actuated by no other ſentiment than that of the public good, and whom you chooſe to calumniate in defiance of conviction?

It pleaſes Dr. Griffiths alſo to repreſent my letter (in which I informed him, that I would not leave the public in an error) as a riſible threat of denouncing him as an Illuminee (June 1798). He adds, that I am "*at full liberty to accuſe or compliment him by ſuch a deſcription.*" You may, Sir, take what I am going to ſay as a *reproach* or as a *compliment;* but, without pretending to ſay whether you are initiated in the ſecrets of Illuminiſm or not, this much I can aſſert, that no Illuminee could have ſhown leſs candor than has the author of the article to which I am about to reply.

So far was I from attributing any other intention to Weiſhaupt, than that which he really had, when he wrote theſe words, *Aus den ſtaaten tretten wir in neue klüger gewählte*, which I have tranſlated, *de ces ſociétés nous paſſons a des vœux a un choix plus ſage* (from theſe ſocieties we proceed to further wiſhes, and to a wiſer choice); and as this ſentence, taken abſtractly, has no ſignification either in German or French, I, in a note, called the attention of the reader to the ſentence that immediately followed, as explaining the nature of the *wiſer choice (Fr. Vol. III.)*——The Engliſh tranſlator has omitted this note, which, in reality was only added through an exceſs of precaution. But had he inſerted it what would it have proved? Nothing but an eſpecial care on my ſide not to attribute to Weiſhaupt any meaning that did not entirely coincide with the text. Am I to blame, if what precedes and what follows that ſentence evidently demonſtrate that this ſophiſter was endeavoring to lead us back to the ſavage ſtate?—I ſhould ſpare the Reviewer too much, or ſhould rather hold him out as an *Ignoramus*, were I to ſay that he could have been miſtaken as to the meaning of that ſentence. Here it is, with what precedes and follows it: "Nature drew men from the "ſavage ſtate, and re-united them in civil ſocieties; *from* "*theſe ſocieties we proceed to further wiſhes, and to a wiſer* "*choice.** New aſſociations preſent themſelves to theſe wiſhes;

* *The note in queſtion would anſwer to the word* choice, *Volume III. and is literally as follows:* "*To a wiſer choice;* "*this is the literal tranſlation of the text,* aus den ſtaaten tret-"ten wir in neue klüger gewählte. *The ſentence that follows* "*clearly enough expreſſes what this choice is.*" *I placed the German text between a parentheſis immediately after the word* choice; *and as the ſentence alluded to immediately followed, I*

" and by their means we return to the ſtate *whence we came*, " not again to run the former courſe, but the better to enjoy " our deſtiny." Since the Reviewer did not condeſcend to favor me with the interview I requeſted, that I might ſhow him the German text, I here print it, that he may get it tranſlated by whom, and where he pleaſes; and I defy him to ſhow that I have either altered or *warped* the ſenſe of that paſſage: "Die " natur hat das menſchen geſchlecht aus den wildheit geriſſen, " und in ſtaaten vereinight; *aus den ſtaaten tretten wir in neue* " *Klüger gewählte*. Zu unſeren wünſchen nahen ſich neue " verbindungen, und durch dieſe langen wir wieder dort an, " wo wir aufgegangen ſind; aber nicht um dereinſt den alten " zirkul wieder zurück zu machen, ſondern um unſere weitere " beſtimmung näher zu erfahren." Now I boldly aſk, whether natural ſtupidity can be carried ſo far, or whether any man can be ſo totally deſtitute of every idea of logic, as not plainly to ſee, that the ſtate from which Weiſhaupt ſays that Nature has drawn us, and to which it is leading us back by means of his (ſecret) aſſociations, is not the ſavage ſtate. Beſide, he adds, *Let us explain this myſtery;* and how does he do this? why, by dedicating more than forty pages to prove, that the object of Nature in *Secret Societies* is to eradicate even the very name of *People*, *Prince*, *Nation*, or *Country;* and this he poſitively tells us is *one of his grand myſteries*. This monſtrous Sophiſter alſo ſays, that *Original Sin*, the *Fall of Man*, was no other than their reunion into civil ſociety; and that *Redemption* is our reinſtatement in that ſtate which was anterior to ſociety. It is even thus that he pretends to explain the goſpel: it is thus that he explains the *rough ſtones*, *the ſtone ſplit or broken*, and *the poliſhed ſtone of Maſonry*.—And after this Dr. Griffiths and his co-operators will come and accuſe us of *unfairneſs*, *dexterity*, and *treacherous ingenuity*, becauſe we unfold the abſurdity of his favorite Illuminiſm! Let our readers aſſign thoſe epithets to whom in their opinion they belong.

5thly. What can the Reviewer mean by that great zeal which he ſhows for the characters of Weiſhaupt and Knigge, thoſe two prototypes of Illuminiſm? In order to juſtify them, he comes and talks to us of the *Theiſm* and of the opinions which they affected in their public writings, and acts the brother dupe, grounding his opinion on Weiſhaupt's giving the writings of the *Socinian Baſſedow* to his novices. What does all this prove to a man who is ſpeaking of the ſecret opinions of Knigge and Weiſhaupt, and who has demonſtrated the whole doctrine of their conſpiring myſteries; to a man who proves to you, by the very letters of Weiſhaupt and Knigge, that after the peruſal of the writings of the Socinian Baſſedow, theſe two atheiſts recommend and give to their adepts the writings of

looked upon the remainder of the note as perfectly uſeleſs, and omitted it; for who could have dreamt that any perſon could have cavilled at ſo clear a ſentence? I only tranſcribe the note in this place, that every reader may judge of Dr. Griffiths's candour.—
Tranſlator.

the atheiſt Boulanger, of the atheiſt Robinet, of the atheiſt Helvetius, of the atheiſt Diderot; and that Knigge even complains, that ſuch a ſuperabundance of Atheiſm would betray the tendency of the Sect too ſoon? *(Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 3, from Spartacus to Cato.—Vol. II. Let. 2. from Philo to Cato.)*—To what purpoſe, let me aſk, is all the ſtuff which the Reviewer has copied from the German Illuminees about the Jeſuits; all thoſe panic terrors which he affects about the return of Catholiciſm in a proteſtant country; as if proteſtants and perſons of every religion were not bound in one intereſt to counteract the plans of Illuminiſm? If Dr. Griffiths wiſhes to miſlead the Engliſh nation, as ſome of the adepts did for a time in Germany, let him learn that the trick is ſtale; that it will be in vain for him to copy Mirabeau or Bonneville, and, like them, cry up the alledged proofs of Jeſuits Maſonry diſcovered by the Illuminee *Lucian*-NICOLAI. We are on the ſpot, and can verify theſe grand proofs. We beg Dr. Griffiths to favor us with a ſight of that famous *Pelican* diſcovered at Oxford; and that he will not forget to tell us how it comes to paſs, that this Pelican *is replaced by a Sparrow-hawk*, whoſe feathers grow again, and *how a Sparrow-hawk, who thus reſledges itſelf*, evidently demonſtrates that *Jeſuits have long ſince been hidden in the Engliſh Ledges;* and that if great care be not taken, they are on the eve of ſallying forth to make a moſt terrible havock. He will alſo tell us how this demonſtration becomes evident, when we obſerve, that Sir Chriſtopher Wren (the architect who built St. Paul's) was profeſſor in one college at Oxford, and that the *Pelican* and *Sparrow-hawk* were found in another college. But I am ſorry to conſider, that, when Dr. Griffiths ſhall have ably developed all the grand proofs given by Nicolai, the Engliſh reader will be much tempted to rank the inventor and his panegyriſt in the ſame claſs.*

Let not Dr. Griffiths think that while we ſhrug our ſhoulders at this miſerable fable of Catholiciſm and Jeſuitiſm latent in Freemaſonry, we cannot produce ſubſtantial proofs that this fable was only invented to avert the attention of the inhabitants of proteſtant countries from the progreſs made by the Illuminees. We can ſhow thoſe leaders of Illuminiſm *Brunner*, the apoſtate catholic curate of Tiefenbach; the apoſtate *Nimis*, the *Chabot* of Germany; the adepts *Dorſch*, *Blau*, and *Wreden*, the famous Illuminees of Spire, Mentz, and Bonne, meditating and combining among themſelves the means of propagating this fable in Germany, juſt as Dr. Griffiths had done in England. We can produce the letter of the adept *Brunner* to *Nimis*, diſcovered among the papers of *Blau* and ſent by the officers who had ſeized them to the *Biſhop of Spire*. Dr. Griffiths knows many things concerning Maſonry and Illuminiſm; but he may probably be unacquainted with this letter; it would not be right that he ſhould continue ſo, as he will, by the in-

* *See Monthly Review, Auguſt*, 1798, *pages* 460 *and* 461—*See alſo the miſerable diſcoveries of Nicolai appreciated in a German work called the* Veil torn from Maſonry, *page* 318, *&c.*

formation be better able to judge of the part that he is acting, and of the services that he is rendering Illuminiſm.

This diſpatch is dated June 9, 1792, that is, juſt about the time when the coalition of the crowned heads ſeemed to menace Jacobiniſm with immediate deſtruction. The adepts are much occupied with inventing a plan for remodelling Illuminiſm, that it might acquire new vigor. In this plan a cloak is ſought, which, hiding the grand machine, leaves its inſtruments at liberty to act without being ſeen, and to attain the object of the Sect without being ſuſpected of meddling with Illuminiſm.

The cloak that was thus to favor the views of the brethren, was an *Academy of Sciences* formed of two claſſes of men, the one of men remarkable for their zeal in the cauſe of religion, the other of profound Illuminees. Honorary members were to be elected as protectors; *and if* (ſays the author of the plan) DALBERT *once gets to his government* (that is, if the Suffragan becomes Elector of Mentz) *he of all other princes would be the moſt proper for our object. We may perhaps unfold the whole of our plan to him, and make Mentz the central point of our academy.—To do away every idea of the hidden myſteries of this academy, it would be right that each member ſhould wear on his breaſt a medal bearing the inſcription* RELIGIONI ET SCIENTIIS (to religion and ſciences).—*The better to conceal our ſecret object, we muſt be careful to engage all the learned Jeſuits, ſuch as* SATTLER, SAILER, MUTSCHELLE, *and other learned religious, that are perfectly orthodox, ſuch as* GERBERT, *and* SCHWARTZUEBER.—*It would even be right if it could be bro't about, that the eſtabliſhment of this academy ſhould be announced to the public by a Jeſuit, and not by one of us.*

Pray, Dr. Griffiths, has this plan come to your knowledge? Now liſten to what the adept author of the plan ſays: "But if "people cry out againſt *hidden Jeſuitiſm* and againſt the *progreſs of Catholiciſm*, it will be ſo much the better. That "would the better do away all ſuſpicion of a ſecret aſſociation; "*one might* (and this is worthy of Dr. Griffiths's obſervation) "*one's ſelf help to ſpread this falſe alarm.*" I here add the text, for the benefit of a tranſlation from Dr. Griffiths, which if he gives, I hope he will alſo add the text, that the public may pronounce on *the treacherous ingenuity*: "Wurde über "heimlichen Jeſuitiſm, oder über gröſere ausbreitung des "Katholiciſm geſchrien, deſto beſſer; dadurch würde aller "verdacht einer geheimen verbindung nur um ſo mehr be-"ſeitiget. Man konte ſogar dieſen blinden lärm ſelbſt ſchlagen "helfen." When, Sir, you ſhall have duly meditated on this plan of the adepts, I ſhould like to know what you could have done more to favor their views than you did in giving an account of Mr. Robiſon's work, of my work, and of the miſerable production calling itſelf *A firſt Letter of a Free mason to the Abbè Barruel.* You will, doubtleſs, remark, that the date of this plan is June, 1792; ſo you cannot refer your readers to the *Illuminee* BOETTIGER to make them believe, that ſince the year 1790 there has been no farther queſtion of Illuminiſm in Germany.

I flatter myſelf that you now coincide in opinion with me, and that you think it might have been better—1ſt, To have either ſpoken of the above works with more candor and politeneſs, or not to have mentioned them at all.—2dly, To have accepted the invitation that I ſent you, that I might lay the original texts before you.—3dly, To have publiſhed the letter that I requeſted you would inſert in your Review.—And 4thly, Not to have pretended that I had threatened to denounce you as an Illuminee. For really, Sir, I never felt the ſlighteſt inducement to pronounce whether the Illuminees had ever initiated yourſelf or your co-operators in their laſt myſteries.—You begin with granting that the conſpiracy of the Sophiſters againſt the altar really exiſts; and when you come to the Illuminees you tell us, "*that however extravagant may be the "opinions of ſome* LEADING MEN *among the Illuminees, the ave-"rage will of the party, the collected purſuit of the confederated "Lodges, appears rather to have had* SOCINIANISM *and* RE-"PUBLICANISM *than Atheiſm and Anarchy for its objects.*"—(June, 1798, p. 240.)—This is avowing at leaſt that there exiſts in theſe Lodges a conſpiracy againſt the God of the Goſpel, and againſt the thrones of all ſovereigns. This is alſo abandoning the chiefs or founders of the confederacy of the Illuminees. When you go ſo far yourſelf, Sir, as to grant all this, am I not entitled to aſk what could induce you to accuſe me of ſo much *treacherous ingenuity*, when you confeſs yourſelf that I might be in the right; for you muſt have ſeen that I diſtinguiſhed the degrees; I have ſhewn by the very code of the Illuminees how in their firſt ſchools they only infuſed hatred for kings, and that ſpecies of Socinianiſm which borders ſo cloſely on rank Deiſm. This, I think, was ſufficiently proving a conſpiracy whoſe tendency well deſerved the attention of the public. When I accuſe the Sect of aiming at the wildeſt anarchy, I ſhow that this myſtery was reſerved to the profound adepts and chiefs, though their ſecret at preſent frequently escapes them before a public audience. Generally, Sir, they make the ſame avowals as you do. They are pleaſed to hear it ſaid that Voltaire, and thoſe men whom they denominate *great philoſophers*, conſpired againſt Chriſtianity; and that other ſelf-created philoſophers of the Lodges conſpired againſt kings.—This might contribute to make nations believe that it is not ſo very criminal a thing to engage in ſuch conſpiracies. But it is a more difficult thing to invent a plauſible pretext for conſpiring againſt all property and civil ſociety; and for that reaſon more care is taken to conceal the ultimate views of their plots. Meanwhile, however, they cry down every author that dares to unmaſk theſe hideous conſpirators. Was it under an illuſion, or wittingly, that you followed ſo nearly the ſame method in reviewing the works of Mr. Robiſon and myſelf? Do not expect a deciſion from me. My object is, that the public ſhould not be miſlead to believe that I have exaggerated the myſteries of the Illuminees. I leave to that ſame public to judge whether any of the Reviewers are dupes or accomplices.

N. B. In support of the account given by the *Monthly Review*, I am threatened with an answer from SPARTACUS WEISHAUPT. My rejoinder is ready for this personage also. Let him meet me at the archives of Munich, where his letters are preserved. But as that might expose him to the peril of the gallows, I consent that he should act by attorney. Let him prove then that these letters are spurious; and that the Court and Magistrates of Bavaria imposed upon the world, when they published those letters, and invited persons of every country to come and verify the originals; for all other apology on his side must be useless, and any answer on mine superfluous. A complete answer to all his publications, as well as to his first apology, is already published in the code and history of his Illuminism, and all that I can possibly say with reference to his writings may be reduced to three words, *read and verify*.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

Object and Plan of this Volume.

CONCEIVED but a short time before the French Revolution, by a man whose ambition seemed confined within the narrow compass of the town of Ingolstadt and to the dusty folios of his schools, by what strange means did Illuminism in less than fifteen years, become that formidable Sect which, under the name of *Jacobin*, rides triumphant over ruined altars, shivered sceptres, and scattered crowns; over the wrecks of nations and their constitutions; over the bodies of potentates fallen beneath their poisons or their poignards, while they drag others in their train, craving a servitude termed *peace*, or branding themselves with the infamy of what they call an *alliance*?

Under this name of JACOBIN absorbing all the mysteries, plots, and combinations of every sectary against every religion, government, and society, by what artifice could Illuminism acquire that dominion of terror which forbids any sovereign within the astonished universe to say, To-morrow I shall continue seated on my throne; which forbids nations and citizens to say, that their laws and religion, their houses and property, will not be torn from them; which forbids the peaceful inhabitant to lie down to rest with any assurance that he will not rise in the morning beneath the shade of that symbol of blood called the *Tree of Liberty*, and threatened by the axe of the devouring guillotine? How is it possible, that the secret adepts of the modern *Spartacus* should be the invisible and exclusive movers of that long chain of crimes and calamities, that disastrous torrent of ferocity and rapine, which is called the revolution? How do they continue to direct those machinations which are to consummate the dissolution and misery of human society?

In dedicating this Fourth Volume to the investigation of these questions, I do not flatter myself with the hopes of illustrating them with all that precision, and of pointing out those particularities, which other men might have done who have had it in their power to follow the Sect of Illuminees into their dark abodes, without ever losing sight of the adepts or their teachers. The monster has

Object of this volume.

taken its courſe through wilderneſſes, and darkneſs has more than once obſcured its progreſs. Weiſhaupt had adopted the bird of night for his emblem, becauſe he courted darkneſs; but the ſcreechings of this ominous bird, rending the air in ſpite of him, diſcover his ſecret retreat. The venemous reptile is often diſcovered by the ſtench of its poiſon; the beaten and blood-ſtained track leads to the diſcovery of the cavern inhabited by brigands; and, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the wicked, an all-powerful God will ſometimes in his mercy permit a ray of light to ſhine on their tenebrous receſſes, which may ſuffice to develope their plots. Many horrid particulars, no doubt, have been loſt under the veil of darkneſs; but in claſſing thoſe which have come to my knowledge, I find abundance of proofs to trace the Sect wherever crime has pointed out its fatal influence. In vain does the black cloud hover round the ſummit of the volcano, the bituminous and ſulphurous vapors which it exhales, bear teſtimony of the interior combuſtions, till at length the eruption denotes the abyſs where ſo great a convulſion was generated.

Hence, without flattering myſelf with the hopes of ſeizing every link of that horrid chain of iniquity which muſt blacken the page of hiſtory when treating of the Sect, or of decyphering the aſſumed names of all its adepts, I ſhall proceed to lay before my readers what has already come to light. Aſſerting nothing but will bear the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, I ſhall ſtill find matter ſufficient to trace the progreſs of the Sect from its origin to that congreſs to which, at the preſent moment, it calls the vanquiſhed ſovereigns, not ſo much to quell the horrors of the field of battle, as to enjoy that dominion of terror which it deſpotically ſways without, and to prepare within new reſources to extend its triumphs; not ſo much to reſtore to nations the tottering remnants of their laws and religion, as to invent means of obliterating the very traces of either that may yet remain. I ſhall here attempt to lead the hiſtorian through theſe mazy windings leſt he ſhould loſe himſelf when in purſuit of the Sect. The reader has already ſeen (in our remarks on the Code) its oaths and threats againſt every religion, all ſociety, and property. Now, when reading of what the Sect has done, of the plots and machinations it has ſucceſsfully undertaken and executed, may nations and their rulers acquire new ardor, and be

ſtimulated to oppoſe their future projects with all the courage and all the means they are maſters of. It is to triumph over Jacobiniſm, coſt what it may, that nations are to ſtudy the records of this Sect, and not to ſink meanly into deſpair. I know I am but mortal, and that ere long I ſhall deſcend into the grave; and I calmly wait my diſſolution; but ſhould that conſideration prevent my weeping over the general diſſolution which threatens ſociety, after I have awakened my readers to the dangers which threaten them, only to ſee them ſinking once more into that apathy which portends ruin, under pretence that it is too late, that it is uſeleſs to reſiſt the fate which the Sect has decreed for all nations? God forbid that I ſhould hold ſuch language! Cannot the good be fired with that zeal which conſumes the breaſt of the miſcreant heaving for wickedneſs. Let the rulers of nations *will it*, let nations *will* to ſave their religion, their laws, their property, as this infernal Sect *wills* the deſtruction of them all, and ſucceſs muſt infallibly crown their endeavors. It is only in hopes of contributing to their ſucceſs, that I once more conſent to ſully my pen with the names of *Weiſhaupt*, of *Illuminee*, and of *Jacobin*, and to wade through their diſguſting annals.

The order to be obſerved in treating of the hiſtory of the Sect ſhall be regulated according to its moſt remarkable epochs. Plan of this volume.

The firſt ſhall ſhew Weiſhaupt laying the foundations of his Illuminiſm, preparing and initiating his firſt adepts, founding his firſt Lodges, trying his firſt apoſtles, and preparing every thing for great conqueſts.

The ſecond ſhall treat of that fatal intruſion which embodied thouſands and thouſands of adepts under Weiſhaupt's banners; and this epoch will be called the *Illuminization of Free-maſonry*.

Very few years ſuffice to extend theſe tenebrous and myſterious conqueſts; but the thunderbolts of heaven warn mankind of their danger. The Sect and its conſpiracies are diſcovered in Bavaria, and it ſpeaks of this diſcovery under the appellation *of its perſecutions*; nations and their rulers have been led to believe that it was the death-blow and extinction of the Sect.

Shrinking back, however, into its dark receſſes, with unabating ardor, it crawls from den to den until it attains thoſe of Philip of Orleans, who, joining the Sect with all

the adepts of his occult Lodges, gives it ſovereign ſway over the whole of French Maſonry. From this monſtrous aſſociation ſprung the JACOBINS, with all the crimes and horrors of the Revolution. This conſtitutes the fourth epoch of Illuminiſm; for as the lion, feeling his ſtrength ſufficient, ſallies from his den, roars loudly, and victims muſt be ſacrificed to him; ſo the Jacobins, or Illuminized Maſons, quit their lurking places, and with horrid yell announce to nations and their rulers that they may tremble, for the day of revolution is come. This is the epoch at which the Sect begins the execution of its plots. He only knows how low the earth is condemned to bend beneath their yoke, who in his vengeance permits the plague and other ſcourges to devaſtate empires until he has been avenged of an impious generation. I neither pretend to be a prophet nor deſcendant of a prophet; but in treating of the numerous crimes already committed by the Sect, it will be but too eaſy to point out thoſe that it has ſtill to commit, and that it will commit, if princes and their people diſregard the leſſons of that ſame God, teaching them the conduct they ſhould hold, in order to avert the impending ſcourge.

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THE

ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY;

HISTORICAL PART.

CHAP. I.

First Epoch of Illuminism.

FOR many years past, and particularly since Freemasonry had acquired such repute throughout Europe, a multitude of petty secret societies had been formed in the Protestant universities of Germany, each having its lodge, its master, its mysteries, all modelled on those founded by masons coming from England and Scotland. Hence sprung those various Orders *of Hope*, *of Harmony*, *the Constantists*, *the Black Brethren*, and the like. The disputes and quarrels, nay, the disorderly behavior of these young brethren attracted, more than once, the attention of the magistrates; some few attempts were made to crush these meetings, but being made without energy they were of course useless. Governments had not sufficiently considered, that the most dangerous abuse of these societies was not so much the quarrels and the boyish battles which ensued, as the taste which they inculcated for societies impervious to the eye of the magistrate, and under the cover of which their secrets were so easily transformed into the mysteries of impiety and the plots of rebellion.*

* The sophisticated masons of France were not strangers to these boyish Lodges. A few years before the destruction of the Jesuits, one of these lodges was set on foot in their college of Tulle, stiling its members the *Chevaliers de la Pure Verité*, *(Knights of the Pure Truth.)* The Jesuits soon perceived whither this doctrine of *pure truth* and its secret meetings would lead. Before any other method for putting a stop to this new establishment was proposed, they resolved to try the power of ridicule which was almost infallible in France. Accordingly one of the masters undertook to compose a most sarcastic song on our young Knights, and copies were secretly dis-

It would, however, be difficult I believe to prove, that any ſyſtems or opinions militating againſt religion or governments had as yet been introduced into theſe puerile aſſociations. Many were even known to profeſs principles conducive to good manners and morality. The remedy may be found in the very ſource whence ſprung the evil, that is to ſay, from the conſtitution of thoſe univerſities, which, on the one ſide, leaves the choice of the different profeſſors in each branch to their ſcholars, and on the other does not ſufficiently provide for an honeſt teacher to place him beyond the powers of want or the temptations of avarice and vanity. Hence it followed, that maſters, little delicate as to the means of obtaining a nomination, and nearly deſtitute of talents, had only to ſhow great zeal for one of theſe little ſocieties, or invent ſome new myſtery more enticing than the reſt, and his Lodges immediately filled; the ſcholars formed parties for him; in a ſhort time his ſchools were as much flocked to as his Lodges, and contributions in his favor kept pace with his growing reputation. The fear of paſſing for a ſeducer of youth was a bar againſt his making uſe of theſe ſocieties for inſtilling bad principles into his young followers, however much he might have wiſhed it; and on the other ſide, the authority which he had acquired in the ſchools gave him a ſufficent power in the Lodges to thwart any perverſe intentions in the young adepts; and theſe oppoſite reaſons proved in general a ſufficient guard againſt the introduction of great abuſes.*

The time was not yet come, however, when proofs were to be acquired of the uſe to which the great conſpirators were to turn theſe myſterious nurſeries.

When public report ſpread the news in Germany of a new order of Illuminees having been founded in the univerſity of Ingolſtadt by Weiſhaupt, many people ſuppoſed it to be one of thoſe little college Lodges, which could no longer intereſt the adepts, when once they had finiſhed their ſtudies. Many even thought that Weiſhaupt,

tributed to all the young men who did not belong to the lodge. Scarcely could one of the juvenile Knights make his appearance without hearing ſome ridiculous line of this ſong hummed in his ears; and in a ſhort time ſquares, compaſſes, Lodge and all diſappeared.

* See the Memoirs of a Proteſtant Miniſter on the Illuminees.

who was at that time a ſworn enemy to the Jeſuits, had only founded this Lodge with a view to form a party for himſelf againſt thoſe fathers who, after the deſtruction of their order, had been continued in their offices of public teachers at the univerſity of Ingolſtadt.* The Illuminees ſucceſsfully availed themſelves of this opinion on an occaſion which we ſhall hereafter ſee to have been deciſive as to their future exiſtence in Germany. Had not the nature of their code and of their myſteries demonſtrated views of far other importance both for nations and their governments, to have been the grand object of the founder, the Archives of the Sect would ſhow beyond all doubt that from its firſt inſtitution Weiſhaupt had conceived the hopes, and determined on means for extending the plots of the Sect to the utmoſt boundaries of Empires.

It was on the 1ſt of May, 1776, that Weiſhaupt laid the firſt foundations of his Illuminiſm. The liſt of adepts ſeized among their Archives ſhows his name inſcribed on that day at the head of the Regiſter; on the ſame day *Ajax*-Maſſenhauſen and *Tiberius*-Merz were declared Areopagites.† It is true that he ſelected theſe two firſt adepts from among his pupils who were ſtudying the law under him at the univerſity of Ingolſtadt; theſe were generally young men from eighteen to twenty, a moſt dangerous age, when the paſſions eaſily lay open the unguarded mind to the ſeduction of Sophiſtry. Weiſhaupt could not overlook ſo fair an opportunity of forming apoſtles, who, returning home when they had finiſhed their ſtudies, might, under his direction, continue the ſame career of ſeduction which he himſelf carried on at Ingolſtadt. Atrociouſly impious, we ſee him in the firſt year of his Illuminiſm aping the God of Chriſtianity, and ordering *Ajax*-Maſſenhauſen in the following terms to propagate the doctrines of his new goſpel: "Did not Chriſt "ſend his Apoſtles to preach his Goſpel to the univerſe? "You that are my Peter, why ſhould you remain idle at "home, go then and preach."‡

* See the Memoirs of a Proteſtant Miniſter on the Illuminees.

† Original Writings, Sect. IV.

‡ Hat doch Chriſtus auch ſeine apoſtel in die welt geſchickt, und warum ſollte ich meinen Petrus zu hauſe laſſen? *Ite et prædicate.—Original Writings, Letters to Ajax, 19th Sept.* 1776.

The modern Cephas had not waited for the orders of his master to give him proofs of his zeal. In the enthusiasm of his first fervor, and during the very month of his installation, he had acted the part of Insinuator to Xaverius Zwack.* We shall soon see him outwitted by his pupil; but so great a conquest covered a multitude of sins of which he was afterwards guilty. By the name of *Cato* we see Zwack pass under the direction of Weishaupt himself, and he soon became his favorite disciple. He may be said to have robbed his Insinuator of the honor of having founded the Lodges at Munich; and it was through the means of this new apostle that the Sect made that rapid progress which Weishaupt boasts of in his letter to *Tiberius*-Merz, 13th May, 1778:

"It is with great pleasure that I can inform you of the "happy progress my Order is making: knowing how "anxious you are for its welfare, and that you have pro-"mised to contribute to its success by all the means in "your power, I must inform you, that in a few days I shall "be able to found two Lodges at Munich. The first will "be composed of *Cato*, of Hertel, to whom I have given "the name of *Marius*, and of Massenhausen, whom we "call *Ajax*. These three will receive their instructions "in direct line from me. You also shall have a seat in "their council when at Munich. I have been obliged to "fix *Ajax* there, though he might have been of great use "to me; for he was the first to whom I opened myself "on the subject, and he also recruited *Cato* for me. Had "I to begin again, I certainly would not make choice of "him; but I have so clipped his wings that he can no "longer play off any of his intrigues. I don't leave him "in possession of a single halfpenny of our funds; they "are entrusted to *Marius*. Cato is the main spring "at Munich, and the man who conducts every thing. It

* In the Third Volume of these Memoirs, page 9, in the Note, it is said, "it is clear that *Zwack* was only initiated "*ten* months after the two adepts *Ajax* and *Tiberius*." In place of *ten* we should read *twenty-two* months, as I meant to speak of his installation among the Arcopagites, which only took place on the 22d of Feb. 1778. *(Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. IV.)*; but he had been received into the Order on the 29th May, 1776, as may be seen by the tablets of *Ajax*. Besides, these tablets, and the list just mentioned, do not perfectly coincide. The reason of this difference will be explained when treating of the first adepts.

" is for that reaſon that you muſt in future correſpond " with him. It is in this Lodge that all is regulated with " regard to the general direction of the order; but then " every thing is to be ſubmitted to me for approbation.

" The ſecond college (or Lodge) ſhall conſiſt of the " above-named brethren, of Berger, under the name of " *Cornelius Scipio*, and of a certain Troponero, whom we " have ſurnamed *Coriolanus*, a moſt excellent man for us, " about forty years of age, and who has been for a long " time concerned in the Hamburgh trade: He is an able " financier, and at this very time reads public lectures on " finance at Munich.

To theſe will ſoon be added Baader and Werſtenrie- " der, both profeſſors in the ſame town. This Lodge is " to attend to all local concerns, that is, to all that may " be of ſervice or diſſervice to us at Munich. *Claudius*, " one of *Cato's* couſins, and the young Sauer, an appren- " tice to a merchant, are in the Noviciate. Beieramer, " ſurnamed *Zoroaſter*, who was initiated a few days ago, " is going to try his luck at Landſhut, whither we ſend " him to ſee how it will be received there. Michel, un- " der the name of *Timon*, and Hohenaicher ſet off to the " attack of Freiſinguen.

" You are but little acquainted with the people of Aich- " ſtadt. It is enough to ſay, that (counſellor) Lang, ſur- " named *Tamerlane*, is Director there. His zeal has al- " ready gained over to us *Odin*, *Taſſo*, *Oſiris*, *Lucullus*, " *Seſoſtris*, and *Moſes*. *This is going on pretty well, I* " *think*. I forgot to ſay, that we have our printer at Mu- " nich. We are now making a new edition, and at our " own expenſe, of *Alphonſus de Vargas* on the *ſtrata-* " *gems* and *ſophiſms* of the Jeſuits.* You ſhall ſoon re-

* This ſuppoſed *Alphonſus de Vargas*, whoſe calumnies againſt the Jeſuiſts Weiſhaupt renews with ſo much eagerneſs, is no other than *Gaſpar Sciopius*, far better known for the groſsneſs and virulence of his tedious diſcourſes againſt thoſe who dared differ from him in opinion, than by his erudition. He was particularly abuſive againſt *Scaliger* and *James* I. King of England; the latter had him anſwered in Spain by a ſevere baſtinado. This was alſo the man who revenged himſelf in ſo virulent a manner on *Caſaubon* and *Du Pleſſis Mornai*, his beſt friends, but who had contradicted him on a point of literature; in ſhort, the man who has been alternately called the *Attila*, the *Cerberus*, and even the *public executioner* of literature. See *Moreri*'s and *Feller*'s *Dictionaries*.

" ceive a copy of it. If you will ſend your contribution " in money to *Cato*, as you promiſed, I ſhall be obliged to " you. He will ſend you a receipt for it.

" If, through your zeal, and by your means, we could " obtain a footing in Suabia, it would be a great ſtep " gained for us. Let me then beſeech you to ſet to work. " —In FIVE YEARS *you will be aſtoniſhed to ſee what a* " *progreſs we ſhall have made. Cato* is really *incompar-* " *able.* The greateſt difficulties are over. *You will now* " *ſee us advancing with gigantic ſtrides.* Do ſet to work " then. *It would be in vain for you to expect a better oc-* " *caſion for acquiring power.* You are endowed with all " the neceſſary talents for ſuch an undertaking; and to ne- " glect building in the Elyſian Fields when the occaſion " offers is to be doubly criminal. There are a vaſt num- " ber at Aichſtadt; and could not your natal ſoil rival an " Aichſtadt. With reſpect to myſelf, the ſervices I can " render here can be but of little avail. Anſwer me ſoon; " make an extract of this letter as uſual, and then ſend it " back to me, &c."

The grand object of ſuch intimations on the progreſs of Illuminiſm was not ſo much to ſatisfy the curioſity of the adept, as to ſtimulate his zeal by the example of *Cato* and *Tamerlane*, thoſe active recruiters for the Sect, the former at Munich, the latter at Aichſtadt. Though he owned that *Tiberius* had not been altogether unſerviceable to him, nevertheleſs Weiſhaupt did not think that he had made a ſufficient return for the honor conferred on him in being nominated at once ſecond Areopagite and ſecond Apoſtle of the Order: It was with much concern (to make uſe of Weiſhaupt's expreſſion) that he ſaw this apoſtle had neither *ſon nor nephew* in the order, that is to ſay, that he had not founded a Lodge nor recruited a ſingle novice.* Wholly abſorbed in his pleaſures, Weiſhaupt had hitherto made but fruitleſs attempts to ſtimulate his zeal, nor had he ſucceeded better through Cato's means; but this news had the deſired effect. Theſe intimations on the progreſs of Illuminiſm finiſhed by requeſting *Tiberius* to ſeek out a proper perſon to be ſent to found new colonies in Suabia. This fired the ſluggard apoſtle with emulation: *Tiberius* undertook the talk himſelf; and in a ſhort time we find him repreſented in the

* Letter 3, to Cato.

annals of the Sect as at the head of a new colony at Ravenſburg in Swabia, and as fulfilling perfectly the functions of his apoſtleſhip.*

But this zeal of *Tiberius*, as well as that of *Ajax*, was but of an intermittent nature. The latter had robbed the funds of the Order; and Weiſhaupt, ſpeaking of him, complains that *he had done him more miſchief both in men and money than three years could recruit again.*† As to *Tiberius*, he had ſo thoroughly imbibed the iniquitous doctrines which he was to infuſe into the young adepts, and the ſcandalous publicity of his character militated ſo much againſt that hypocriſy which Weiſhaupt judged neceſſary for the propagation of his Illuminiſm, that we ſhall ſee him hereafter expelled the Order. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming impropriety of ſuch a choice for the two ſenior apoſtles, it was to them nevertheleſs that the Sect was indebted for the two colonies of Munich *Athens*, and of Ravenſburg *Sparta*. As to Aichſtadt *Erzerum*, Weiſhaupt himſelf was the founder. He profited of the firſt vacation he had from the ſchools to make an excurſion to that town, and there employed all that time which the generality of profeſſors dedicate to the recruiting of their health, after the labors of the paſt year, in the propagation of his doctrines. An aſſiduous ſcrutator, he ſought among all ranks of citizens and of all ages thoſe he could hope to captivate. The firſt perſon on whom he caſt his eyes, was one of the principal magiſtrates, of the name of Lang. But a few days ſufficed for this conqueſt, and this is the *Tamerlane* whoſe ſucceſſes are ſo much extolled in the above-mentioned letter to *Tiberius*. He next began to exerciſe his talents as Inſinuator with all the artifice and according to the laws laid down in the code, on men who bearing a certain character, and habitually reſiding among their fellow-citizens, could the more effectually influence the public opinion. He made an attempt to ſeduce the Chapter of that town, for it was from thence that he writes, "I even think that I ſhall be able to recruit two others, "and what is more two *Canons*. Can I but execute my "deſigns on the Chapter, then we ſhall have made a great "ſtep."‡

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. to *Cato*, 25th Aug. and 2d Sept. 1778. † Original Writings, Let. 3, to *Cato*.
‡ Let. 3, to *Ajax*.

It does not appear that he succeeded with his two canons; but we see him on the other hand making numerous conquests. He begins by a certain Schleich, with whom he is much delighted, and who on his first admission presented the Order with whatever books Weishaupt chose to select from his library. Then comes a man surnamed *Lucullus*, who, while only in his noviciate, begins by Weishaupt's express command to act the part of Insinuator to the Baron Eckert, who was supposed to be a *great prize*. In short there was a number of young men whom Weishaupt persuaded to come and finish their educations at his university, that he might be able to complete their initiation. Such was the success he met with during the few months he remained at Aichstadt; and he was so overjoyed with it, that he writes to *Ajax*-Massenhausen, "I have most certainly done more during this "vacation than all of you have done together*." Though obliged to return to his public functions of teacher at the university of Ingolstadt, he left this new Lodge in possession of such a fund of illuminized instruction, that Aichstadt was soon looked up to as the model of Lodges; and the predelection which Weishaupt ever after retained for it is observable. He often proposes it as an example to those adepts who became lukewarm in the service of the Sect. It was also the Lodge which he had the most grossly imposed upon as to the origin of the Sect, and which he most ridicules in his confidential letters to *Cato*-Zwack, when he says, "The greatest of our mysteries must be the "novelty of the Order. The fewer persons there are in "the secret, the better we shall thrive; at present you, and "Merz are the only two that know the secret, nor do I "mean to tell it to any one else for a long time to come. "*As to our fellows at Aichstadt, there is not one of them* "*that knows it, nor is there one who would not swear on* "*his life and death that the Order is older than Methn-*"*salem*†."

On his return to Ingolstadt, Weishaupt applied himself to the means of combining his functions of Doctor of Laws with those of Founder of a Secret Society, whose future purpose was the total subversion of every law. He fulfilled the former part of his duty with such assiduity,

* To *Ajax*, Let. 4.
† Orig. Writ. Let. 2, to *Philip-Strozzi* or *Cato*-Zwack.

and with such an appearance of candor, that he was chosen Superior of the university. This new dignity only added to his hypocrisy. The same year, so far was he from losing sight of his tenebrous plots, that he formed a secret school, wherein he amply counter-balanced the lessons he was obliged to give in public; and by means of this new species of scholars he stored up abundant means for the propagation of his Illuminism. At once Superior and Professor of the university, he made use of this double title to inspire the parents of his scholars with new confidence. He converted his house into one of those boarding-houses where young men, perpetually under the eyes of their masters, are supposed to be better preserved from the dangers which threaten them at that age. Several letters demonstrate the intention of this monstrous pedagogue to offer his house and table to the young students of the university as a means of attaining his baleful ends. He solicited fathers and mothers to entrust their children to his care; and overjoyed at having obtained so precious a deposit, he exultingly writes to his adepts, "that the young Baron of Schroeckenberg, and the young "Hoheneicher, are to be boarded with him." He then adds, "*And these gentlemen also must swallow the bait that is thrown to them.*" When he had observed the great facility that this secret school gave him of seducing his disciples, he writes, "Next year also I will take boarders at my house, *always with a view to forward the "grand object.*"* Should it come to pass that he could not persuade the parents to intrust any of his young auditors to his care, especially when he had cast his views on them, he then had houses near him and in his interest, to which he would entice the young pupils, lest he should lose sight of them. It is on a similar occasion that he writes to *Ajax*, "I see no other lodging for you in our neighborhood but at my mother's. I should be excessively "happy if that would do for you; and more particularly "so, as she would make no difficulty in allowing you the "key of the house-door. I do not wish to force you to "go there if you can find a better; but *the great advantage of this would be, that I should always have a pretence for going to your chamber; and there we could*

* Orig. Writ. Vol. 1. Let. 1, to *Ajax*, Let. 20, to *Cato*.

" *more eaſily than at my houſe diſcourſe together without* " *any one's knowing a word of the matter. Our union* " *would be more ſecret.*"*

Let not the reader be ſurprized at ſeeing me deſcend to all theſe particulars. I am deſcribing the infant ſtate of a Sect, and the founder forming his firſt diſciples. Such means might be deſpiſed by ſome; but this was not the caſe with our prototype of rebellion; he ſcarcely appears to venture beyond the porch of his own habitation. Let the wolf alone; in the thickets of the foreſt ſhe ſuckles her young; they grow in ſtrength, and we ſoon behold them carrying the palpitating remnants of flocks to gorge the ravenous maw of her who taught them to devour. Scarcely had Weiſhaupt dedicated his ſecret ſchool for the ſpace of two years to his Illuminiſm, when his adepts, worthy of ſuch diſaſtrous plans, ſallied forth to ſpread the baneful poiſons. Let the reader judge of the importance of his means by the ſucceſſes attending on them; let him reflect on them while Weiſhaupt ſhall be his own hiſtorian in the following letter:

" In future," ſays he to his two famous Areopagites *Cato* and *Marius*, " you will aſſume a different tone with " *Timon* and Hoheneicher, as I have let them into the " whole ſecret; I have even diſcloſed myſelf to them as " founder of our Order; and I have done it for many rea- " ſons.

" Firſt, Becauſe *they are to be themſelves founders of* " *a new colony at Freyſinguen, their native country*, and " on that account ſtand in need of more particular inſtruc- " tions as to the whole tendency of the Order, which " were much too long to have been given by letter. I " profit of every inſtant while they remain with me to " prepare them for every thing.

" Secondly, Becauſe they muſt in the mean time inſi- " nuate the Baron D'E . . . and *ſome other ſtudents.*

" Thirdly, Becauſe H——" (this H—— is evidently the above-mentioned Hoheneicher, the very perſon of whom Weiſhaupt ſays, when enticing him to board with him, *He ſhall ſwallow the bait*) " is too well acquaint- " ed with my ſtyle of writing and of thinking, not to have " ſoon found out that the whole was of my own inven- " tion.

* Orig. Writ. Let. 5, to *Ajax*.

" Fourthly, *Becauſe of all my boarders of laſt year he* " *was the* ONLY ONE *who had not been made acquainted* " *with the whole buſineſs.*

" Fifthly, Becauſe he has offered to contribute to our " ſecret library at Munich, and *will furniſh us with ſeve-* " *ral important articles belonging to the chapter of Frey-* " *ſinguen.*

" And, Laſtly, Becauſe after three months more in- " ſtruction, which I have to give them, they will both be " enabled to render us the moſt important ſervices."*

From this letter we may evidently infer, firſt, that of all the young men who boarded with Weiſhaupt during the firſt year of his conſpiracy not a ſingle one eſcaped his dark deſigns: Secondly, that they were not only initiated in the myſteries, but even in the moſt profound myſteries, that, for inſtance, in which he reveals himſelf to be the founder of his Illuminiſm, which is pointed out in the Code as the laſt ſecret, and only to be imparted to the moſt conſummate adepts.† Thirdly, that before he had initiated his boarders into all his ſecrets, he uſed them as tools for the ſeduction of other ſtudents of the univerſity, whom he had not been able to entice to his table.—Fourthly, that at the very period when Weiſhaupt reſtores his pupils to their parents, their ſeduction is complete; and that when theſe young men quit the univerſity, as having accompliſhed the ſtudy of the laws of their country, they depart for their natal ſoil imbued with the principles and initiated in all the means by which they are to overturn thoſe very laws which they are ſuppoſed to have been ſtudying, and annihilate all religion, ſociety, and property.—Fifthly, the reader is not to forget the *important articles* which the young Hoheneicher promiſes to ſteal from the library of the Chapter of Freyſinguen, and with which he is to enrich the ſecret library of the Sect. Such an action could only be a conſequence of Weiſhaupt's grand principle of morality, that *a uſeful theft could not be criminal*, or that thoſe ſame means which the wicked employ for an evil end are juſtifiable when employed for the attainment of a good end. It is the ſame principle which begins by plundering the libraries of the clergy, as the firſt

* Original Writings, Vol. 1. Let. 12, to *Cato* and *Marius*.
† See the Code, Vol. 3. Chap 12. on the Grand Myſteries, Page 288.

ſtep towards the plundering of their eſtates; which ſoon, under the pretence of general utility and neceſſity for the ſupport of the premeditated revolution, will invade the property of the Nobles and of the Rich, of the Merchant, the Huſbandman, and the Mechanic, pillaging all, and blaſting the moſt diſtant hope they may have conceived of preſerving the ſmalleſt remnant of their ſhattered fortune from the general wreck. When the hiſtorian ſhall come to treat of theſe great revolutionary ſpoliations, reverting to the prime ſource, he will find himſelf in the midſt of a Sect calling itſelf Illuminees, a ſchool of methodized robbers thieving by principle, whence Weiſhaupt ſends his apoſtles of depredation, and brigand adepts. Soon we ſhall behold them boaſting of other ſpoliations. The leſſons of the ſecret cavern ſhall ſpread around, and the adept, annihilating all property as well as blaſpheming all government and all religion, ſhall do homage to their maſter preſiding over his ſecret ſchool.

The two new adepts, formed with ſo much care to the arts of ſeduction, at length received their miſſion, and the town of Freyſinguen, under the appellation of *Thebes*, becomes the fourth colony. About the ſame time the adepts of the two Lodges at Munich ſhowed ſo much zeal for the propagation of the myſteries, that Weiſhaupt after having calculated on their and his own ſucceſs, did not heſitate at writing to them, "If you do but continue with "the ſame zeal, we ſhall in a little time be maſters of our "whole country*;" that is to ſay, of all Bavaria.

The reader muſt not, however, think that his views were circumſcribed to this Electorate; he ſoon writes to his Areopagites, deſiring them to make choice, from among the foreigners who were then at Munich, of perſons who might be inſtructed, initiated, and ſent to found new colonies *at Augſbourg, Ratiſbon, Saltzbourg, Landſhut, and in different parts of Franconia.*† At the time he wrote theſe inſtructions he had already ſent his miſſionaries to the *Tyrol* and into *Italy.*‡ The part, or rather the multiplicity of parts, which he acted at Ingolſtadt to enſure the ſucceſs of his undertaking are as inconceivable

* Orig. Writ. Vol. 1. Let. 26, 14th of November, 1778. *Wenn ſie ſo fortfahren, wie ſeit einiger zeit ſo gehört in kurzer zeit unſer vaterland uns.*

† Ibid. Let. 39. ‡ Ibid. Let. 36.

as they were real. He gives us a small sketch of his activity when he writes to Cato, proposing himself as a model: "Do as I do, avoid large companies. But do not think "of remaining idle if you wish to acquire any influence "in this world. Wait a while; the hour is coming, and "it will come soon, when you will have a great deal to do. "Remember Sejanus, who so well assumed the character "of an idle man, and who transacted so much business "without appearing to transact any; *erat autem Sejanus "otioso simillimus, nihil agendo multa agens*;"* never had a conspirator better laid down the precept or given the example than Weishaupt.

Apparently tranquil at Ingolstadt, Weishaupt had a far better cloak for his conspiracies than Sejanus's idleness. A seeming assiduity in his duty, a great show of zeal and erudition in his expounding of the laws, easily misled people to believe that his whole time and talents were engrossed with the study of them; and, if we are to credit his own account, Ingolstadt had never witnessed a professor so well calculated to add new lustre to its university. The public functions of professor of the laws, and the secret arts of seducer in private, had not made him forget that he was also the founder of Illuminism, and that in this latter quality he had to form a code of laws, which were at once to annihilate every other law, all religion, and all property. At the time when he initiated his first adepts, he was far from having perfected that code of iniquity; and perhaps in the strict sense of the word Weishaupt had deviated from the common rules of prudence, in giving way to such ardor for the propagation of the Order, sending his apostles and initiating his disciples before he had completed the code of laws which was to regulate their conduct. But such an impetuosity cannot be considered in this prototype of rebellion as a want of foresight, or as an excess of confidence. He knew that years and experience were necessary to perfect that gradual system of initiations and of trials which his Novices were to undergo; and artfully to prepare those impious and sophisticated discourses to be pronounced by his Hierophants; in a word, to complete that concatenation of artifice which was to regulate the conduct of his Regents, Directors, and Areopagites. He could not endure the idea of sacrificing

* Let. 1, to Cato.

ſo many years to mere theoretic projects. He would, in his firſt eſſays, make conqueſts that were to enſure him ſtill greater ones on a future day, which he had already calculated. He knew his own talents too well to entertain the leaſt doubt of ſucceſs; he foreſaw how far he could perfect thoſe ſyſtems which he had as yet only conceived, and he wiſhed to have ready at hand a numerous clan of diſciples diſpoſed to receive his new goſpel, and apoſtles who ſhould need only to be initiated in his laſt myſteries, when his code, completed, was to be ſent to the tenebrous receſſes of his different colonies.

Such were his views, and ſuch the confidence he had in the tranſcendency of his own genius for wickedneſs, when he wrote at different times to his firſt adepts, "Do not "trouble yourſelf about future degrees. The day will "come when you ſhall view with aſtoniſhment what I "have done on that ſcore. In the mean time, *be it your* "*care to enliſt men for me, prepare knights for me, inſtruct* "*them, diſpoſe them, amuſe them, and leave the reſt to me.* "The whole of your buſineſs conſiſts in adding to the "numbers. Allow yourſelves to be directed, and obey "for a year or two longer, *and give me time to lay my* "*foundations, for that is the eſſential point; and nobody* "*underſtands that part better than I do.* If theſe foun- "dations are once laid, you may then do what you pleaſe; "*and though you were to try, I would defy you to over-* "*throw my edifice.*"*

This deſperate method of proceeding muſt have given riſe to many difficulties; but Weiſhaupt overcame them all. By proviſional regulations and private inſtructions he ſupplied the deficiency of this incomplete code, and he was equal to the taſk. The greateſt obſtacles he met with came from theſe very Areopagites from whom he had expected the greateſt ſupport. Villains will diſagree even in their villainy; and, impatient of the laws of the ſtate, they become impatient of the laws of their own leaders. Weiſhaupt wiſhed to take advantage of their views, but had no intention of imparting his to them; he knew his own ſuperiority in the black arts too well, he wiſhed for agents and not counſellors and co-legiſlators. Jealouſies and inteſtine broils roſe to ſuch a height, that any other

* Extracts from Let. 8, to *Ajax*, from Letters to *Cato*, and to the Areopagites particularly from Let. 59, Vol. 1.

but Weiſhaupt would have thought that his infant aſſociation muſt have been cruſhed in its very cradle; but he found means of weathering the ſtorm; now negociating, then deſpotically commanding; ſuppliant like, he enters into agreements, and ends by dictating conditions; prayers, excuſes, all are means with him to command ſubmiſſion; he even ſhowed himſelf diſpoſed to ſacrifice all the fruits of his paſt labors; he threatened to abandon his rebellious brethren to themſelves, and to undertake the direction of a new ſociety more powerful and ſtronger ſtill, in as much as he would render it more ſubmiſſive.* In the midſt of all theſe broils, he alone continued and perfected that code which would have required the talents of twenty Machiavels. Storms indeed appeared only to ſtimulate his ardor and activity; and he ſays himſelf, when writing to his dear *Cato*, "I am once more at open war "with all our people; *that does no harm, it enlivens the* "*machine*; but if I underſtand the part I have to act, I "can neither praiſe nor wink at faults committed. Mean "while our affairs go on very well; and provided they "follow my directions the general ſyſtem will have loſt "nothing."† *Night and day*, in the midſt of theſe broils, as he ſays, *meditating*, *writing*, and *combining*, all that could perfect, ſtrengthen, or propagate his Illuminiſm either in the whole or part, he nevertheleſs held his profeſſorſhip with applauſe, he overlooked his ſecret ſchool, he formed new adepts, and from his ſanctuary watched and overlooked his miſſionaries in their provinces and new colonies. By means of the *Quibus Licet's* he would deſcend into the minuteſt particulars of their conduct, direct them in their undertakings, point out to them what might be done, and reprimand them for what they had not done to promote his views. Voltaire's correſpondence under this head is immenſe; but it is not to be compared to Weiſhaupt's; not a letter of all thoſe ſeized by the arm of the law but bears the ſtamp of the conſummate conſpirator; not a letter that does not allude to the myſteries or to ſome new artifice; that does not point out the candidates to be enticed, the adepts to be advanced, animated, repreſſed, or reprimanded; in ſhort, the enemies who are to be guarded againſt and the protectors to be courted. His apoſtles

* Vol. 1, Let. 25, 27, 60; Vol. 2, Let. 11, 19, 21, &c. &c.
† Vol. 2, Let. 19.

are on the ſpot in their different miſſions, while he, from his head-quarters, appears to be better acquainted with thoſe who ſurrounded them than they are themſelves. He goes ſo far as to inform them of the rank, political or civil ſtation, and even of the private characters of thoſe whom they are to recruit; he gives them the means, mentions the perſons who are to ſecond them, and what companies they ought to frequent, in order to ſucceed in their undertakings; in fine, he animates, threatens, and reprimands his adepts, juſt as if they were ſtill boarding with him, though perhaps at many hundred miles diſtance.—Scarcely have they made any new conqueſt when he directs them in the ſame manner, and at once governs the main ſpring and every ſubſervient power throughout the whole Order. His correſpondence will ſhow him on the ſame day writing of the laws neceſſary for the further eſtabliſhment of his Order, of treaties to be made, of plans of commerce, and of the moſt impious commerce, to enrich his Illuminiſm. At length, with all the hypocriſy of a man who aſſumes the character of an idler, or at leaſt of one only fulfilling that which his public duty exacts from him, he aims at the ſupremacy over every conſpiring Sect. He gets himſelf received a Free-maſon, he dives into the ſecrets of the occult lodges of the Roſicrucians, and blends their conſpiring arts with his own.* He next forms an alliance, and from the bottom of Bavaria correſponds with thoſe federations which the free-maſons of Poland were preparing; and leſt any of theſe revolutionary arts ſhould be loſt, he makes large collections, which might be called the grand arſenal for the ſeduction of nations; and theſe are to become the foundations of ſecret libraries for the uſe of the adepts. He never loſes ſight of thoſe profits which accrue from the ſecret preſſes, which were perpetually diſgorging poiſon into the minds of the people.—For the further repleniſhment of his coffers, he ſets all the talents of his adepts to work; ſome are to contribute pamphlets, proſe or verſe, or journals, while others are to collect all the impious doctrines and calumnies of antiquity, or to compoſe libels on ſubjects which he gives them; and, for his own part, he undertakes to burleſque the Prophets and the Lamentations, and to convert the hiſtory of the church into a romance replete with calum-

* Let. 6, to *Ajax*, and Let. 36, to *Cato*.

ny.* The ſacred writings mention a Devil that was named *Legion*, from the innumerable evils he brought upon mankind; were we to conſider the fatal activity of Weiſhaupt in every impious and rebellious art, we ſhould be tempted to believe that he had been poſſeſſed by this evil ſpirit, and that it was to that devil he owed all his ſucceſs.

As yet the very exiſtence of the Order had not been ſuſpected at Ingolſtadt, though there were already in Bavaria alone, five Lodges at Munich; other Lodges and Colonies at Freyſinguen, at Lanſberg, at Burghauſen, and at Straubing. Weiſhaupt was on the eve of founding others at Ratiſbon and Vienna; many had been eſtabliſhed in Suabia, Franconia, and Tyrol. His apoſtles were working at the ſame time in Holland and at Milan. His Illuminiſm had not been founded three years, when he writes to *Cato* that he has more than *a thouſand adepts*.† He was much indebted to his own zeal and activity for ſuch a rapid progreſs. I cannot flatter the hiſtorian with the hopes of an accurate account of the whole Legion; but I can ſatisfy his curioſity, I think, with reſpect to thoſe who the moſt actively ſeconded Weiſhaupt, and who after their founder appear the moſt conſpicuous on the records of the Sect.

* Vol. 1, Let. 6, to *Ajax*, to *Cato*, 36, &c. To *Philip-Strozzi*, Let. 2, & paſſim, Vol. 2, Let. 22, et paſſim.

† Orig. Writ. Vol. 1, ſee Let. 25, to *Cato*, 13th Abenmeh, 1148, that is to ſay, 13th Nov. 1778.

CHAP. II.

Of the principal Adepts during the firſt Epoch of Illuminiſm.

Cato-Xaverius Zwack.

OF this legion of Conſpirators, which, as early as the third year of Illuminiſm, Weiſhaupt computes at more than *a thouſand*,* XAVERIUS ZWACK is certainly the moſt conſpicuous among the adepts. He is ſtiled the *incomparable*; and the greater part of the letters printed in the *Original Writings* are written to him, particularly thoſe which comprehend the cleareſt account of the myſteries; in ſhort, his favor was ſuch, that the founder of the Sect apoſtrophiſes him ſaying, "Now you are in a "poſt where nobody can be above you but yourſelf; you "are exalted above all the Brethren; an immenſe field "opens itſelf for you to exert your power and your influ-"ence, ſhould we ſucceed in propagating our ſyſtems."† Such a diſtinction and ſuch favor naturally ſuppoſe great merit. Happily, an incontrovertible monument exiſts which will direct the Hiſtorian in his judgment, and render unneceſſary any further reſearch. It is to be found at the end of the firſt Volume of the Original Writings, under the title of *Tablets relating to Danaus, written by Ajax, 31ſt December*, 1776. *Danaus* is the firſt characteriſtic name that was given to Zwack when only a candidate. The fact is evident, as in the firſt column of the Tablets we find the brother *Danaus* deſcribed by his own name: *Ajax*, that is, Maſſenhauſen, acts the part of Scrutator. —Should this ſtatement not be very flattering, we may at leaſt conclude that the failings and vices of the adept are not exaggerated, ſince the Scrutator declares, that it is by the extreme intimacy and friendſhip in which he lived with the Candidate that he has been enabled to make this conqueſt, and terminates the tablet by ſtating the Candidate to be one of thoſe Sages who has all the neceſſary qualifications to be admitted into the Order.—

* Original Writings, Let. 25, to *Cato*.
† Ibid. Vol. 1, Let. 27.

Theſe tablets are alſo a laſting monument of the rapid progreſs Weiſhaupt had made, even in thoſe early days of Illuminiſm, in the ſcrutinizing arts; nor will they prove an unfaithful ſtandard by which the Hiſtorian may judge of the merits of thoſe conſpirators, whom the founder ſelects as worthy of his moſt intimate correſpondence. Let us begin by ſuppreſſing that diſguſt which naturally drives the honeſt heart from dwelling on ſuch deſpicable engines of rebellion, remarkable only for their vices, and proceed from theſe tablets to depict the features which are in future to ſtand as the model for all thoſe who are to recruit Candidates for the Sect. Let nations and the people at large learn what a miſerable banditti of thieves and libertines pretend to regenerate them, and how baſely they are duped by them who ſtirred up the Revolution.

Deſcribed in the tablets of his Inſinuator.

The Tablets, whence Weiſhaupt is to learn the merits and demerits of the future *Cato* of his Order, are divided into ſeventeen columns, each relating to a different head. The name, the age, the civil dignity, the deſcription of his perſon, the civil and moral character of the candidate, are all treated of ſeparately. Then follow the ſtudies he is addicted to, the ſervices the Order may expect from him, the progreſs he has made, the degrees conferred on him, the ſecret manuſcripts or books left to him, the contributions he has paid; his friends, his protectors, his enemies, and the perſons with whom he correſponds, are each ſeparately treated of.

Under theſe columns is to be found a ſecond table alſo ſubdivided, and containing obſervations on the family, and particularly of the father and mother of the candidate, made by the ſame Scrutator. Combining theſe two tables we find, " That Francis Xaverius Zwack was ſon " of Philip Zwack, commiſſary of the *Chamber des Comptes*, and was born at Ratiſbon: That at the time of his " initiation (29th May, 1776) he was twenty years of " age, and had finiſhed his college education."

I. Column.

" *The deſcription of his perſon.* He was then about " five feet high. *His perſon emaciated by debauchery*; his " conſtitution bordering on melancholy;* his eyes of a " dirty grey, *weak and languiſhing*;—*his complexion pale*

II. Column.

* Der ganze bau ſeines durch debauche mager gewordenen körper incliniert nun zum melancoliſchen temperament.

" *and sallow*;—his health weak, and much hurt by fre-
" quent disorders;—his nose long, crooked, and hooked.
" —Hair light brown;—gait precipitate;—*his eyes al-*
" *ways cast towards the ground*;—under the nose and on
" each side of the mouth a mole.

III. Column. " *The moral character, religion, conscience.* His heart
" tender, and most extraordinarily philanthropic, but stoic
" when in a melancholy mood; otherwise a true friend;
" circumspect, reserved, *extremely secret*,—often speaking
" advantageously of himself,—envious of other people's
" perfections—*voluptuous*, endeavoring to improve him-
" self—little calculated for numerous assemblies—*choleric*
" *and violent*, but easily appeased—willingly giving his
" private opinions, *when one has the precaution to praise*
" *him, though contradicting him*—a lover of novelties—
" *on religion and conscience widely differing from the re-*
" *ceived ideas*; *and thinking precisely as he ought, to be-*
" *come a good member of the Order.*

IV. Column. " *His favorite studies, and the services he can render*
" *to the Order.* Most particularly addicted to philosophy
" —having some knowledge of the laws—speaking French
" and Italian very correctly—at present attempting to get
" himself placed in the foreign department—*a perfect*
" *master in the arts of dissimulation*; *a proper person to*
" *be received into the Order*, as applying himself particu-
" larly to the study of the human heart."

V. Column. *Friends, correspondence, company.*—Here the Insinua-
tor names five or six persons, friends to the candidate.—
Among them we find a certain *Sauer* and a *Berger*, both
of whom soon after appear on the registers of the Sect.

VI. VII. VIII. Columns. These three columns contain the name of *Ajax* as In-
sinuator—The day when the candidate was insinuated—
and when received.

IX. Column. " *Of the means of gaining and leading the Candidate,*
" *and whether he is acquainted with any other secret so-*
" *cieties.*—Here it appears that Zwack was already con-
" nected with other secret societies, which made the con-
" quest rather more difficult.—*The intimacy of our friend-*
" *ship*, (says the Insinuator) and particularly the care which
" I took to assume a mysterious tone and appearance, lev-
" elled many difficulties.—At present he expresses a great
" ardor and zeal for the Order.

X. Column. " *Predominant passions—Pride, love of glory, probity,*
" *easily provoked*—an extraordinary propensity for mys-

" teries—*a perpetual cuſtom of ſpeaking of himſelf, and* " *of his own perfections.*"

In the eleventh column we are informed, that the candidate had received a *penſum* to fill up, or a diſcourſe to make, and that it was to be finiſhed on the 29th April, 1778. XI. Column.

The twelfth mentions the fortune and revenue of the candidate; but the Editor has left the figures in blank. XII. Column.

The two next ſhow, that the day on which Zwack engaged to pay his contribution for 1777 was the 29th of May, but for 1778 was the 1ſt of April. That on the 19th July 1776, he ſent a Dutch Ducat, and ſome time after two books on Chymiſtry. XIII. XIV. Columns.

The column in which the Inſinuator notes the progreſs of his candidate ſhows, that the ſecret books which had been given him to read were thoſe numbered 1, 2, 4, and 9—the orders which he had received are only numbered, as alſo *the leave given to recruit other Brethren.* As this column is made uſe of to note the ſucceſſive progreſs of the candidate, the Brother Inſinuator at length arrives at that period when Zwack has received all the information neceſſary to his admiſſion into the Order. He then declares, that it is time to impart more eſſential ſecrets to him and to promote him to higher degrees. XV. Column.

The ſixteenth column enumerates his enemies, and the reaſon of their enmities. In the laſt we find the names of his friends and protectors. XVI. XVII. Columns.

I ſhould not have inſiſted ſo much on theſe Tablets, had I not thought it neceſſary to give one ſpecimen at leaſt of theſe inquiſitorial inſtruments, in which Illuminiſm grounds the choice of its adepts, and the future ſucceſs of its conſpiracies.*

* Many readers may be curious to know what is contained in the ſecond table, ſubjoined to that which deſcribes the candidate. It is in ten columns, comprehending the names and rank of Zwack's relations, an account of their children, their fortune, their alliances, friends, and enemies; the company they keep, particularly the education they have received, and their moral character, which is called *their ſtrong or their weak ſide.* The Editor has thought proper to omit ſome articles in this table—The two which appear to be the moſt perfect are on *the ſtrong and weak ſide* of Zwack's parents, who, according to the Inſinuator, have received an *antiquated education not worth much.* The father is deſcribed as " jealous of his honor, " honeſt, zealous in the diſcharge of his duty—apparently

When we reflect on the leading features of these tablets, what idea are we to form of Zwack's character? Inordinate debauchery, extreme fatuity, jealousy, dissimulation, and a sullen melancholy.—Such features are more than sufficient to banish him from all good company.—He also thinks on matters relating *to religion and conscience* as the adepts do; or, in other words, is a downright Atheist. With an insatiable thirst after *novelties*, he has all that admiration for secrecy which the revolutionist can desire. He, moreover, professes universal philanthropy for all mankind, that he may the better succeed in his plots against every social law; and this could suffice to obliterate all other failings in Xaverius Zwack, and constitute him the favorite adept.

Meanwhile the lessons of the Insinuator, together with that black melancholy which reigned in his heart, had nearly deprived Illuminism of the important assistance of this beloved adept. To despise death was one of the important lessons that we have seen given to the novices; and to die by their own hands rather than disclose the secrets of their teachers, was particularly instilled into them. Weishaupt had conceived this maxim in two words, *Patet Exitus* (the exit is free) *or destroy himself who will*, particularly if he finds himself unhappy in this life. It is a part of that convenient maxim afterwards decreed by the Jacobins, *That death was only an eternal sleep.* Full of this principle, and weary of his existence, our new candidate had persuaded himself, that should he die by his own hand he would die the death of a sage. He composed his work, entitled, *Thoughts on Suicide.* They are the

" harsh to his inferiors, but really loving them to excess—" speaking to every body with a tone of authority and in a pe-" dantic style—In his habits and speech impolitickly frank—se-" cret, and sparing even to the want of necessaries when he can " serve his Prince, zealously serving him without distinction of " persons, to the risk even of losing all his employments—" feeling, humane, mysterious, officious, and proud of his ex-" perience—carefully attentive to the whole of his affairs."

As to the mother, " *she is a good housekeeper—absorbed in her* " *dear child Xaverius Zwack*, and so forth."——Many other things have been suppressed in this latter table. But there still remains more than sufficient to give all relations of Illuminees an idea of the methods used by the scrutinizing Brethren to pry into their most secret conduct, and to describe their most private interests to the Order.

ſentiments of an Atheiſt worn out with debauchery, and almoſt mad with impiety.* He made his will, and wrote the following letter to Brother *Ajax*.

" Munich, the 30th Oct. 1777.—Friend, I am on my " departure. It is the beſt ſtep I can take, Fare thee well; " doubt not of my probity, and let it not be doubted of by " others. Confirm the Sages in the judgment they are " going to form on my death, and look on thoſe who blame " it with pity. Be thou an honeſt man; think ſometimes " on me, and do not let me be forgotten by the ſmall num- " ber of our friends. Beware of pitying me.

ZWACK."

In a poſtſcript he bequeaths a ring as a keepſake to Brother *Ajax*, and begs him to forward a ſecond letter to the whole brotherhood of Illuminiſm; it is as follows:

" And you alſo, Brethren, I ſalute you for the laſt time; " I thank you for your good intentions towards me. I de- " clare to you, that I was worthy of them—I declare it " upon my honor, which is my only worth, *and which* " *alone I held ſacred*. Let my aſhes be honored by your " remembrance; *bleſs them, while ſuperſtition ſhall curſe* " *me*. Enlighten yourſelves mutually, labor to render " mankind happy, eſteem virtue and reward it; puniſh " crime, and behold with pity the failings of human na- " ture. On the brink of his grave, deſcending into it de- " liberately, and making choice of death through *convic-* " *tion*, through *demonſtration*, chooſing it *for his happi-* " *neſs*; it is thus that he makes his adieu, who ever re- " mains your friend and Brother,†

ZWACK."

Illuminiſm muſt have loſt its favorite adept, had he proved as conſtant in his reſolution as he was ſerious when he took it. No reaſon is given why he condeſcend- ed to live; but in like manner as Weiſhaupt has found a protector in the perſon of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, ſo has he been created a Privy Counſellor to the Prince of Salm-Kirbourg, and is his ordinary agent at the Imperial Chamber of Wetzlar. At this preſent moment he is de- puty for the Houſe of Salm-Kirbourg at Raſtadt, at the General Congreſs of the Germanic Empire, treating of peace with the triumphant Illuminees of the French Re- public. He is accompanied by a Sieur Ambmann, a citizen

* See Original Writings, Vol. 1. Sect. 20. † Ibid.

of Darmſtadt, and an Illuminee like himſelf. Hiſtory, I ſuppoſe, will at ſome future time explain how he contrived to combine the intereſts of the Sect with thoſe of the Powers which he had ſworn to annihilate. But let us return to Zwack at a time when he little expected to be carried by the Brethren to that exalted ſtation where he was to decide on the fate of Sovereigns.

His *Thoughts on Suicide*, however, were not loſt on his ſiſter-in-law, for ſhe really ſought death, and, throwing herſelf from the top of a tower, daſhed her brains out.* But he, who had choſen to live, took umbrage at the great length of his noviciate, and at the many trials *Ajax* made him undergo. He writes directly to Weiſhaupt, who, taking him under his direction, begins by telling him that *Ajax* had impoſed upon him by not forwarding the letter he had written to the brethren; *but ſince he has impoſed upon you*, ſays the inſtructor, *trick him in your turn*; and the following was the method adopted on Weiſhaupt's propoſal. Zwack is eſtabliſhed Inſpector over his own Inſinuator;† and he then gave the moſt evident proofs that his character had been well drawn, when it was ſaid that *he was a perfect maſter of the arts of diſſimulation*; for although he now became the confident and boſom friend of *Spartacus*, and was conſequently initiated in all the myſteries of the Sect, he nevertheleſs continued to act the part of a Novice with his Inſinuator. He was not only at that time a member of the College of Areopagites, but alſo the ſuperior of it, and in a perpetual and direct correſpondence with Weiſhaupt. He acted his part ſo well, that *Ajax*, ſtill conſidering him as his ſcholar, thought to do him a great favor in ſhowing him a few of Weiſhaupts's letters; but they had already paſſed through the ſcholars' hands, as did every writing coming from *Spartacus* to *Ajax*.

This part which Zwack acted, of inſpecting him who thought himſelf his inſpector, explains that apparent contradiction between the tablets written by *Ajax* and the liſt of the firſt adepts, which is to be ſeen in the Original Writings.‡ In the former *Ajax* looks upon Xaverius Zwack as a mere candidate till the 29th May, 1778, and in the latter he is ſtyled an Areopagite on the 22d Feb.

* Ibid in the Note.

† Let. 1, to Philip Strozzi. ‡ Vol. I. Sect. IV.

1778, under the characteriſtic of *Cato*; and a few months after he appears to be the next in command after the *Spartacus* of the Order.* Never was an Inſinuator better undermined by his novice.

The different names under which this adept appears in the Original Writings has been a matter of ſome difficulty to many readers; but on paying attention to that predilection, always increaſing, which Weiſhaupt had conceived for this adept, the difficulty vaniſhes. At firſt Zwack had received the inſignificant name of *Danaus*; but no ſooner was *Spartacus* made acquainted with his hatred for kings, than he ſurnames him *Philip Strozzi*, after that famous Florentine Conſpirator, who, having murthered Alexander de Medicis, was afterwards taken in open rebellion againſt his ſovereign, and plunged a dagger into his own breaſt, reciting that verſe dictated by all the fury of vengeance:

Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor.

The ſuicide, though it did not take place, was equally meritorious in Weiſhaupt's eyes; and hence Zwack is created the *Cato* of Illuminiſm. It is under that name that he becomes the principal agent and beloved diſciple of the founder at Munich; and their mutual ſympathy in wickedneſs has perpetuated their intimacy.

Though he had not all the genius of Weiſhaupt himſelf, he was as much prone to the commiſſion of crime.—Scarcely had he entered the Order when, for his firſt eſſay, he declares himſelf a downright Atheiſt;† he, at the ſame time, makes known his hatred for kings, and his admiration of the people in rebellion againſt their pretended tyrants.‡ We may obſerve ſome of the firſt adepts aſtoniſhed at the immenſity of the crimes and diſaſters which Weiſhaupt was preparing for the univerſe; and it requires ſome management to prepare them for ſuch horrid plots. But his *Cato* is always ready for every thing. The incomparable *Cato* was *arrived at the height of his mys-*

* Letter 17, to Philip Strozzi.

† See his Diſcourſe on Societies, Original Writings, Vol. I, Sect. XXII.

‡ See his Thoughts on Suicide.

teries, and Weiſhaupt had but to enroll his code of iniquity, for his ſcholar could only be ſurpaſſed by the criminality of invention.

This ſympathy for impiety and wickedneſs, however, could not ſuffice for Weiſhaupt's policy. His views required a ſenate of Conſpirators; but a ſenate of agents, and not of equals. The better to be obeyed by the Areopagites, he commands them to meet at a diſtance from him; for he well underſtood the nature of ſecret ſocieties, and knew that his orders would be the better obeyed the more he enveloped himſelf in myſtery, and hid himſelf from public view. If, in ſpite of his inviſibility, jealouſy ſhould ariſe on the part of the Areopagites, he will have an agent at their head, that *Cato*, who holds the exalted ſtation of preſident from him, and is therefore moſt intereſted to ſupport the authority of the founder, his protector. And it is to preſerve this preſident in his intereſts that we ſee Weiſhaupt uſing every artifice, and even ſupplication; "*ſupport me then*," he ſays; "do diſpoſe things ſo, "and prepare their minds, that my diſpoſitions may be "received."*

Weiſhaupt had no reaſon to regret his choice; for during all thoſe inteſtine broils which aroſe between him and his Areopagites on account of his deſpotiſm, Zwack always took the part of his benefactor, was the pacificator, and, ſtimulating their zeal for his plots and conſpiracies, brought them back to that reſpect due to the *Spartacus* of the Order. It is to him alſo that Illuminiſm is indebted for the progreſs it made in Munich. *Cato* was ſo zealous a Recruiter, that Weiſhaupt was obliged ſeveral times to repreſs his ardor. He wanted his aſſiſtance for the digeſting of his code, and for the government of the Order. In ſhort, the reſult of their correſpondence proves, that no Areopagite either entered ſo completely into his views, or ſo juſtly deſerved his confidence as *Cato*-Zwack.† And it may be ſaid with truth, that no conſpirator ever acted the part of a zealous ſervant of his prince with ſo much ſucceſs as this man. In the midſt of his plots of Illuminiſm, Xaverius Zwack found means of getting himſelf named *Counſellor to the Court, and Counſeller to the Regency, with a ſalary of twenty thouſand florins.* Wei-

* Original Writings, Vol. I. particularly Letter 55.

† See the Original Writings, Letters to *Cato*.

ſhaupt, overjoyed at his promotion, compliments him, ſaying, "Accept my felicitations on the new appoint-" ment. I could wiſh that all my Areopagites were privy " counſellors with ſalaries of twenty thouſand florins; but " I could alſo more ardently wiſh, that their employments " required but little time and labor, as they could then " apply more cloſely to the grand object."* The very letter in which Weiſhaupt compliments his preſident is one of thoſe to his Areopagites in which he enters into the particulars, and boaſts of the progreſs of his conſpiracy.

II. *Marius* or the Prieſt Hertel.

The ſecond of theſe Areopagites was a prieſt of the name of HERTEL, ſurnamed *Marius* by the Illuminees. It is of this perſon that Weiſhaupt writes to *Cato*-Zwack, " Our *Marius* is ſuperlatively reſerved. On moſt occa-" ſions he advances with the greateſt *circumſpection*; *and* " *with reſpect to religious matters let us flatter his weak-*" *neſs. His ſtomach is not ſtrong enough as yet to digeſt* " *the tougher morſels.* On all other ſubjects you may re-" ly on him. Do not give him too much work until he " has acquired the habit of buſineſs, and taken a liking " to the affair. If he be once brought in properly, he can " render the greateſt ſervices."†

Notwithſtanding all his *circumſpection*, Hertel ſoon ſuffered himſelf to be carried away into all the dangers of ſecret ſocieties, and fell a prey to their machinations. Since he had ſome conſcience left, Weiſhaupt thought that he could not turn it to a better account than by making him treaſurer to the Order, that he might by his economy and honeſty repair the numerous breaches that had been made in its funds by the thefts of *Ajax*. The illuminized *Marius* acquitted himſelf of his office much to the ſatisfaction of the founder. In recompence for his ſervices, the brethren get him nominated canonicate at Munich; and he was ſo much amuſed with this intrigue, that he wiſhes to divert *Cato* with a recital of it, but does not dare commit it to paper.‡ At the period when he came to take poſſeſſion of his canonicate, all thoſe *circumſpect* ideas of religion had vaniſhed. He deſcribes himſelf as going from the altar to the dens of Illuminiſm, as publicly in-

* Ibid. Vol. III. Letter 2.

† Ibid. Vol. I. Letter 7, to *Cato*, 27th March 1778.

‡ Ibid. Letter from *Marius* to *Cato*, 3d Nov. 1783.

veſting himſelf with an eccleſiaſtical benefice, while in ſecret he extols the great ſervices he has rendered to the brood conſpiring againſt the church; *but theſe alſo are ſervices*, he ſays, *too important to be committed to paper.** They are ſervices, however, which, I am ſure, no reader can miſtake, when he ſees him partaking with Zwack of Weiſhaupt's intimacy. In the correſpondence of the latter there are a multitude of letters to be found directed in common to Zwack and Hertel; there are alſo many inſtructions, both abſolute and proviſional, directed to the Areopagites; and in theſe, it is no longer the conſcientious but the apoſtate Hertel, who, after Zwack is to occupy the next place, and act the principal part.† It is this unfortunate prieſt who appears to have been more particularly charged with the care of ſtealing or buying for the uſe of the ſecret libraries all thoſe miſerable productions which might form an arſenal of impiety and rebellion for the corruption of all morals.‡ In ſhort, it is he whom *Spartacus* ſelects from among the brethren as the moſt proper confidant when premeditating that horrid infanticide mentioned at the beginning of the Third Volume of theſe Memoirs; and he behaves himſelf in ſuch a manner as to deſerve the thanks of the inceſtuous parent.§

III. *Celſus-Baader.*

We find a ſtill ſtronger proof of what horrid monſters were ſeated in this ſenate of rebellion in the perſon of *Celſus*-BAADER. Even before he is admitted into this aſſociation, we ſee him offering the depraved ſecrets of his art to murder the innocent offspring of inceſtuous parents; for he is that *Celſus* who had promiſed Weiſhaupt two years before to uſe all the powers of his art to preſerve his honor for him at the expenſe of the moſt horrid of crimes. Without doubt it is in return for theſe offers of his ſervices, that Weiſhaupt is ſo eager to number him among the adepts, and to grant him thoſe diſpenſations of which he ſpeaks when writing to Zwack: "If I could "but ſucceed in enrolling the Phyſician Baader, tell me "beforehand what diſpenſations and privileges we could

* Letter from *Marius* to *Cato*, 3d Nov. 1783.

† Ibid. Vol. 1. Sect. IX. ſee the Inſtructions for *Cato*, *Marius*, and *Scipio*.

‡ Ibid. Vol. I. Letter 46, and Vol. II. Letter 3, &c.

§ Ibid. Vol. II. Letter 3 and 4.

" grant him among the Areopagites; for unleſs ſome dis-
" penſations were granted to him, we could not employ
" him ſo actively as I could wiſh."* This letter was ſoon followed by a ſecond, in which he expreſſes in ſtill clearer terms the high value he places on this conqueſt, and deſcribes the intrigues played off to enſure ſucceſs.—
" In order (he writes to his Athenians) to carry my plan
" into execution in *Athens* (Munich) I ſtand in need of
" two men—The one a *Nobleman*, the other a *Phyſician*.
" *Cato's* unremitting zeal will ſoon acquire the means, and
" he will ſoon make a conqueſt of what is wanting to us.
" The Count S . . . . (*Savioli*, whom *Cato* had juſt in-
" ſinuated) ſhall aſſume the characteriſtic of *Brutus*, and
" he is one of the moſt important conqueſts we could have
" made in *Athens*. The following ſhall be your method
" of proceeding with him. Let *Cato* continue to act
" with him as uſual, and particularly attend to his ſecre-
" cy. After that, let him read our *reformed* ſtatutes to
" the new candidate, and queſtion him whether he thinks
" them uſeful and proper. Should *Brutus* anſwer in the
" affirmative, *Cato* will aſk the Count whether he is ready
" to ſecond us in our labors; he will then tell him, that in
" conſideration of the important ſervices he has it in his
" power to render to the Order, by permitting us to make
" uſe of his name, we ſhall be much leſs ſevere with re-
" gard to him, in the uſual trials, and that he ſhall be
" immediately initiated into the higher myſteries. But
" as a preliminary ſtep he will be required either to de-
" liver Baader over to us, or ſome other perſon. That
" we are very well apprized that he is not to be overloaded
" with work, and that it is on that account he is diſpenſed
" from the uſual taſks preſcribed by our ſtatutes; that he
" will comply with them only as far as he pleaſes; and
" that we have made a particular choice of him to help us
" in the *Government of the Order*. Should he deliver
" Baader over to us, he ſhould alſo be entitled to the ſame
" diſpenſations, which are to be granted to no other per-
" ſon in *Athens*. You will read the *Degree of Minerval*
" to the Count with every thing that precedes; if he ſhows
" a liking and zeal for the cauſe, you will alſo read the
" *Degree of Illuminee*; and when you ſhall have acquired
" evident proofs of his zeal, and that he ſhall have made

* Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 29, of the 30th Dec. 1778.

" common cauſe with us by recruiting for us, you may " let him into the whole ſecret.—Hold a ſimilar conduct " with Baader."*

Whether the Brethren at Munich had already adopted this mode of acting, or whether they had followed ſome other of a ſimilar nature, is not known; but in a very ſhort time after we find Weiſhaupt's views on Baader accompliſhed; for on the 13th of December 1778, only three days after the foregoing letter, we find him inſcribed on the liſt of Areopagites. Ever after we find his name mentioned in the correſpondence as one of the moſt active adepts, and as one of thoſe who had the moſt deeply imbibed the horrid myſteries.†

Another reaſon which made Weiſhaupt more eager for this conqueſt, was, that Baader read public lectures on medicine at Munich, and therefore had an opportunity of ſeducing his young pupils, after the example of his maſter, who had ſo efficaciouſly and fatally made uſe of his influence to ſeduce the young ſtudents of the law at the Univerſity of Ingolſtadt.

IV. *Scipio-* Berger.

A ſimilar reaſon had made him ardently wiſh to initiate BERGER who alſo read public lectures at Munich, though I do not find on what ſcience. His characteriſtic is *Scipio*, and he was inſcribed on the liſt of Areopagites on the 28th July 1778. A Freemaſon before he became an Illuminee, he was ſome time before he could overcome his predilection for his former lodges, in ſo much even that he aſked for his diſmiſſal. *Spartacus* was furious at ſuch a preference. Without ſhowing his deſire of retaining the diſcontented Brother, and not having him ſufficiently in his power to make uſe of threats, he commands Zwack to declare to the Candidate in the *name of the Order*, that he was at full liberty to follow his predilection; but the ſame letter contains all that is to be hinted underhand to the diſcontented adept, all that was to be thrown out on the pre-eminence and advantages of Illuminiſm over Maſonry. The Profeſſor Berger was ſo perfectly convinced of this *pre-eminence*, that Weiſhaupt, *to give him the preference over all the other Areopagites*, only required of him *a little more activity*.‡

* Ibid. Vol. I. Let 33, 11th Dec. 1778.

† Vol. II. Let. 13, from *Spartacus* to *Ceſus*.

‡ Vol. I. Let. 46 and 56.

The want of activity was not a fault with which Illuminism could ever upbraid its adept *Coriolanus*. He was a merchant of the name of TROPONERO retired from Hamburgh to Munich. At the time of his initiation he did not employ his talents in that line which Weishaupt judged to be so useful for the propagation of his hireling doctrines. Zwack bethought himself of setting up this Troponero for a public lecturer on finance, and made the proposition to *Spartacus*, who immediately answered, "It is a very good plan *both for him and for us, to make* "*Coriolanus read lectures on finance*; only, do you spare "no pains to get him scholars. *It is a fine occasion for re-* "*cruiting young men*; nor would it be a bad plan if you "became one of his pupils yourself, in order to entice "others."* It does not appear whether Zwack relished descending from the bench of the Areopagites to attend the schools of the new lecturer; but certain it is that the Archives of Illuminism bear testimony of the great services rendered *by this Coriolanus*; and Weishaupt frequently extols his merits. He was particularly useful at all the receptions, assuming that air of ceremonious gravity so becoming in the Grand Master of a Lodge; and so well did he impose on the young adepts, that they had not the least suspicion of the Occult Mysteries of the Rosicrucians, much less of those of Illuminism.

V. *Coriolanus* Troponero.

About the same time we meet with the names of the two first Illuminized Noblemen whom Weishaupt had initiated into his last mysteries—the one *Hanibal*, the Baron BASSUS; the other *Diomedes*, the Marquis of CONSTANZA. Illuminized Barons and Marquisses, certainly, are a sort of phenomena not easily to be conceived. That men who are never called by their names without being reminded of the great stake they have to lose, should property and the social order be overthrown, that such men should plunge themselves into the most horrid conspiracy ever framed against both, can only be believed by those who have attended to the amazing cunning of Weishaupt's Code and the artifice with which it is put in execution.—In short the Archives of Illuminism, the letters, nay the apologies of these *titled* Illuminees, bear too strong proofs of the fact, and must quash all objections. The Baron Bassus, in his pretended justification, owns that he was the

VII. *Hanibal*, the Baron Bassus.

VIII. *Diomedes*, the Marquis of Constanza.

* Ibid. Let. 3, to *Cato*.

perſon known under the characteriſtic of *Hanibal*;* and the letters of this *Hanibal* not only ſhow that he was an Illuminee himſelf, but alſo an apoſtle of Illuminization, giving an account to the Brethren of his ſucceſſes at Botzen in Tyrol, and boaſting of the important conqueſts he had made in that town, having enlisted and imbued the *Preſident*, *the Vice-Preſident*, *the principal Counſellors of the Government*, and *the Grand Maſter of the Poſts*, with the moſt enthuſiaſtic admiration for Illuminiſm.† — A little farther, the letters of this ſame *Hanibal* bear teſtimony of his having gone into Italy, and of his having initiated at Milan *his Excellency the Count W. . Imperial Miniſter*. Then, meditating new conqueſts, he proceeds to Pavia, in hopes of enliſting ſeveral of the Profeſſors of that Univerſity, and finiſhes by requeſting that the geography of the Order may be enlarged, that he may have a greater ſcope for his illuminizing talents.‡

With reſpect to *Diomedes*, or our illuminized Marquis, his letters alſo bear teſtimony of his enthuſiaſtic zeal in the ſervice of Weiſhaupt. He held this Arch-Conſpirator in ſuch great veneration, that, *with the exception of ſome few inſignificant weakneſſes*, he looked upon Weiſhaupt as the *moſt perfect*, *the moſt profound*, and *the moſt extraordinary mortal on earth*. The hours he had the happineſs of ſpending in his company were too ſhort in his opinion, but unhappily long enough to fire him with all that zeal which ſends him frantic to Deux Ponts, then to *Nauplis* or Straubingen, and at laſt to Munich, replete with all that hireling cunning with which the young candidates are to be ſo completely duped, that they are not *even to ſurmiſe that their credulity is to be impoſed upon*. So deeply are the true principles of the Sect rooted in his breaſt, that to revenge the Order on ſome Brother who, probably diſguſted with the abominable tendency of theſe myſteries, had made ſome diſcovery of them to the Magiſtrates, he writes to one of the brethren, "Oh the rascal! might not a perſon, or to be more correct, *would* "*it be a crime to ſend ſuch a Devil as this into the other world?*"§

* Page 6. † Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. XLV.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. Sect. IV. Let. 1 and 2.

§ Oder Schurkl! Konnte man nicht, oder um beſſer zu ſagen, wäre es nicht erlaubt, ſo einen Teufel in die andere welt

IX. *Solon*-Mitcht.

Neither do the Original Writings nor my private correſpondence inform me of the real titles of the Areopagite *Solon*-MICHT. He does not appear to have acted any very conſpicuous part in the hiſtory of the Order. He is only ſtated to have worn the eccleſiaſtical habit at Freyſinguen; happy for him if it is to this dreſs that he is indebted for his apparent nullity in Weiſhaupt's plots.

X. *Alcibiades* Hoheneicher.

Next appears HOHENIECHER under the title of *Alcibiades*, who, though ſeated in the conſpiring ſenate of the Illuminees, does not bluſh to hold a ſeat in the ſenate of Freyſinguen as counſellor.

XI. *Mahomet* Baron de Scröckenſtein.

The Eleventh of the Areopagites is *Mahomet* the Baron SCRÖCKENSTEIN. We ſhall ſoon behold him preſiding over whole provinces that are ſubject to Illuminiſm. A few days after his initiation we meet with another Areopagite characterized *Germanicus*. Not having been able to diſcover his real name, I will not give way to conjecture.* At this ſame period we find a numerous liſt of perſons of conſequence initiated in the lower degrees.—Such, for example, were the magiſtrate of Aichſtadt, *Tamerlane*-LANG, and the private ſecretary GEISER.—The characteriſtic of this adept does not appear; but Weiſhaupt's letter on the great acquiſition he had made in this adept ſufficiently demonſtrates the importance he attached to conqueſts of this nature, and how far he could turn them to the advantage of his Order.

XII. *Germanicus*.

This letter is of the 10*th Chardad*, 1148 (10th June, 1778); and it is worthy of remark, that it is the firſt letter which we find in the Original Writings dated according to the Perſian Æra. It is to his dear *Cato* that Weiſhaupt writes:—"The acquiſition we have made of the

zu ſchicken—*Original Writings*, *Vol.* I. *Sect.* XLIV. *Letters* 1 *and* 2.

* In order to diſcover the real name of an adept, it will often ſuffice to combine their letters, and particularly thoſe in which Weiſhaupt declares the characteriſtics to be given to candidates, with what is afterwards ſaid of them under their new names. The German Journals, and divers other writings in that language, my own private correſpondence with, and memorials that I have received from men who, living on the ſpot, have been enabled to procure more accurate documents with reſpect to theſe different perſonages, have furniſhed me with the means of diſcovering many others on whom no ſhadow of doubt can be entertained.

" private ſecretary *(ſecretaire intime)* Geiſer is an event " of ſuch conſequence to us, that our affairs will ſoon as- " ſume quite a different aſpect. It obliterates that ap- " pearance (much too conſpicuous) of novelty. It is for " this reaſon that we ought to mutually congratulate each " other and the whole Order. We may now expect to do " ſomething great. By enticing men among us of his ſtamp " and of his conſequence, we add great weight to our ob- " ject, and they are uſeful in keeping our youngſters with- " in bounds. Do not forget to thank and make my moſt " ſincere compliments to the private ſecretary. Men of " his importance muſt have a right to chooſe their own " characteriſtics, their employments, and the ſpecies of la- " bor that they would prefer. You will remember to in- " form me of it, that I may take the proper ſteps in con- " ſequence."*

In this claſs of Brethren of conſequence, we muſt not forget *Brutus* Count SAVIOLA, *Sylla* the Baron MAGGENHOFF, and *Alexander* Count PAPPENHEIM. Meanwhile, till we come to treat of miniſters and princes drawn into this vortex of ſedition, let us hear Weiſhaupt develop his views, and obſerve him marſhalling his troops; particularly when he takes meaſures to enſnare thoſe noblemen whom he wiſhes to make the prime agents and the propagators of the very conſpiracies to which they are to fall the firſt victims. On the *10th Pharavardin*, 1149 (31ſt March, 1779), he writes to his *Athenians* of Munich, " Have you not in all your town of *Athens* any " ſtrangers who may be immediately admitted into the " Order, advanced as ſoon as poſſible to the degree of " *Minerval* and then ſimply inſtructed in the myſteries of " that degree? Such perſons may, without any further " initiation, be ſent to found the ſyſtem in other countries " and make recruits; for example, at Augſbourg, at Ra- " tiſbonne, at Saltzbourg, at Landſhut, and other towns. " To meet with ſuch perſons it would be proper for you " to go into company, and to frequent aſſemblies and pla- " ces of public reſort. Since you have done ſo many other " things you may very well do this. At *Erzerum* (Aich- " ſtadt) *and throughout all Franconia I could make a ra- " pid progreſs if I could but initiate two gentlemen of that " country whom I am well acquainted with, and who are*

* Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. 13, to *Cato*.

" *men of great wit and much eſteemed by the nobility there.* " This acquiſition would ſoon procure us adepts from " among the nobility, men of wit who would recruit for " us in their own claſs throughout all Franconia.—When " we initiated any one at Athens to a new degree, theſe " two gentlemen might be called to aſſiſt at the ceremo- " ny, and would then become candidates for the higher " degree. The rank they hold, and their nobility, would " alſo be of uſe to curb the petulance of your young *Bru-* " *tus* and other gentry.—In ſhort, *Tamerlane* (or the coun- " ſellor Lang), who thinks that there are no other adepts " at *Erzerum* but thoſe with whom he is acquainted, " would be thunderſtruck at finding perſons in a higher " degree than himſelf, though he had not the leaſt idea " they belonged to the Order, and men alſo of whom he " has the higheſt opinion. Do reflect and deliberate on " this."*

In the following letters it appears that *Brutus* no longer needed any curb; for he becomes an apoſtle of the Sect, and ſets off on an expedition from which Weiſhaupt augurs great ſucceſs. He is even ſo zealous, that *Spartacus*, on the eve of diſmiſſing ſeveral other adepts, mentions him as an uſeful member who is to be preſerved,† and deſires that he may as ſoon as poſſible be advanced to the degree of *Major Illuminee*.‡ To enable the reader to judge how far he was diſpoſed to ſerve the Order, it will ſuffice to record the terms in which he expreſſes his gratitude for favors received, and the promiſes he makes in hopes of obtaining new ones. His letter to the *Moſt Excellent Superiors of Illuminiſm* is couched in the following terms:

" Most Excellent Superiors!

" Receive my moſt grateful acknowledgments for the " *third degree* with which you have juſt honored me.— " Every part of it is noble, grand, and beautiful; it has " perfectly anſwered the expectations I had formed of it " from the *ſecond*. I ſhall moſt undoubtedly do every " thing that lies in my power to deſerve your confidence. " In future rely on mine, and believe me to be perfectly " devoted to your ſervice. Nothing in the world ſhall

* Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 39.

† Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. 58. ‡ Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 13.

" ever withdraw me from my allegiance to your laws, or " make me ceaſe to be guided by you.

" You wrote to me ſome time ſince, deſiring me to ſeek " for no further advancement at Court, as I could not " expect any. I obeyed that order; but as the miniſters " of the regency have lately paid me ſome marks of atten- " tion, my affairs have aſſumed a different aſpect. The " ſerious illneſs of the Emperor having given riſe to the " idea of a vicarage of the Empire, Brother *Pericles* and " myſelf have been mentioned as counſellors in that court; " and I have great hopes of being made a privy counſel- " lor *(conſeiller intime)*. S . . . . has taken my cauſe in " hand, and I am indebted to the Brothers *Celſus* and *Al-* " *fred* for it. *If ever I get into power, the moſt excellent* " *Order will ſoon ſee how much I am devoted to it, and* " *how entirely I belong to it.* In the mean time I can but " expreſs my ſincereſt wiſhes."*

Though the advancement which had inſpired the Count *Brutus* with ſo much zeal for the Order left him ſtill at a great diſtance from the higher myſteries, he nevertheleſs had a brother who could not flatter himſelf that he ſhould arrive at even this *third degree*. The Inſinuator had made a diſtinction between them. The letter in which he announces their initiation to *Spartacus* will ſhow the reader what other ſervices the Order had to expect from ſuch kinds of adepts.

Cato writes to *Spartacus*: " Here are my new hopes " for the Order. After a long perſeverance I have at " length engaged the young S——— (Savioli). He will " deliver his brother over to us, who may ſet our affairs " agoing at Augſbourg. They are both rich. The firſt " I recruited as a *Sta bene*, that is to ſay, one who is ne- " ver to paſs the lower ranks. I alſo engage him becauſe " on certain occaſions he will lend us his houſe which is " very convenient for our meetings; and more particular- " ly becauſe, being rich, he can help us with his purſe.†

The ſame letter mentions a ſimilar *ſta bene*: " The " Brother *Livius* (RUDORGER) is in future to be looked " on as belonging to the ſame claſs. He frankly owned " to me, that he had neither the time nor inclination to " give himſelf up to our labors. But that he was willing

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. *Quibus Licet* from *Brutus*.

† Damit er an geld beytraget.

" to contribute towards the progreſs of the Order with " his purſe, and that he would even furniſh us with books " for our libraries, and inſtruments for experiments.—I " gave him to underſtand, that certainly he might remain " a member of the Order; but that he could only be claſs- " ed in future with thoſe who ſeconded its views with " their money."* Thus did Weiſhaupt turn the ſtupidity and ignorance, the impiety and money of his Marquiſſes, Barons, Knights, and Magiſtrates, to the advantage and propagation of his diſaſtrous plots.—He had already made converts of this nature in the imperial chamber of Wetzlar; for, as early as the 29th of Auguſt, 1778, we find that *Minos*, the Aſſeſſor DITTFURTH, inſcribed on the liſt of Illuminees, the ſame perſon whom we have already ſeen ſo zealous for the foundation of an illuminized ſiſterhood.† At firſt we find him under *a ſuſpenſion*, as not to be truſted by the Brethren;‡ but very ſoon his zeal makes him at once the admiration and laughing-ſtock of *Spartacus*. The reader muſt have already obſerved the art with which Weiſhaupt obliges every candidate to give the hiſtory of his life, with an exact deſcription of his paſſions and prejudices. The Aſſeſſor *Minos* complied with this regulation in ſo ſcrupulous a manner, that Weiſhaupt could not refrain from writing to the Areopagites in the following terms: " *Minos*, that man who bears ſo high a " character, is at preſent writing the hiſtory of his life.— " *He is as yet only arrived at his ſeventeenth year, and* " *has written ninety-three ſheets of paper. He is now for-* " *ty-five years of age.* This will be ſomething more than " a general confeſſion. You ſee what may be done with " men if one *does but know how to gain their confidence,* " *and to convince them of the excellency of the object.*"§ So completely did the imperial Aſſeſſor imbibe this principle and learn to convince others of it, that we ſhall hereafter ſee him raiſed to the dignity of Provincial.

However much Weiſhaupt may have wiſhed to make proſelytes among the great, we nevertheleſs ſee him recommending to his inſinuators to recruit more particu-

* Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Sect. xxxii. Letter from *Cato* to *Spartacus*.

† Vol. III. of theſe Memoirs, Page 41.

‡ Orig. Writ. Sect. iv. See the Liſt.

§ Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 7 and 10.

larly among the *professors* and *schoolmasters*, as a sure means of gaining over to his views the youth of all classes. Hence it is that *Hermes Trismegistes*, whose real name was SOCHER, and who was superior of the college at Landsberg, receives the special commission to watch and guard against the Jesuits, as sworn enemies to the education he is to give to his pupils.* For the same reason does Weishaupt strain every nerve to fill his university of Ingolstadt with professors and prefects belonging to his Sect. He entreats the adepts at Munich to beset the ministers, and obtain the expulsion of all Jesuits, because these fathers had retrieved the four professors SCHOLLINER, STEINGENBERGER, WURZER, and SHLEGEL, from Illuminism; and because he had but three professors left in the university to resist Jesuitism.† The List of Professors soon swells to an alarming height in all towns where Illuminism makes any progress. On this black list we find *Armenius*-KRENNER; *Cortez*-LEMMER; *Pythagoras*-WESSENREIDER; this latter soon abandoned the Order when his characteristic was given to the Priest and Librarian DREXL; but as professor we find three to replace him, KUNDLER, LOLLING, and above all BAÏERAMMER, at first called *Zoroaster*, but afterwards *Confucius*. It is this adept that Weishaupt brings at length to Ingolstadt, that he might have for his colleague in the seduction of youth, a man that he himself had initiated in the black arts of his Illuminism.‡ This serves to account for that zeal with which he sends his adepts into all houses of education, and that solicitude with which he entreats *Cato* and *Marius* to seek out some brethren well drilled to the arts of Insinuators, who might be sent *to the* UNIVERSITIES *of Saltzbourg, of Inspruck, of Fribourg, and of other places.*§

To select the following will suffice to show to what extent these missionary professors succeeded, according to the views of the Order; *Saladin*-EKEL; *Thales*-KAPFINGER; *Timon*-MICHL; *Euclid*-RIEDL; all from eighteen to twenty years of age: SAUER, surnamed *Attila*; and the Emperor *Claudius*, or SIMON ZWACK, cousin to the incomparable *Cato*, were of the same age; an age sought after by Weishaupt, as he could the more

* Vol. I. Let. 28. † Vol. I. Let. 36, 30th Jan. 1778.

‡ See particularly Let. 24, Vol. I. § Ibid. Let. 40.

eaſily twine the young adept to vice. This docility was far from being the leading feature of his other adepts; they were not all enthuſiaſtically wedded to his plots at this dawn of Illuminiſm; nor could he make them the paſſive inſtruments of his conſpiracy. He deſcribes the proſelytes he had made among the ariſtocracy "*as rich, therefore* "*given to all the vices of their ſtate*; *as ignorant, proud,* "*cowardly, and lazy in the ſuperlative degree*; as only "ſeeking their advancement in the myſteries, in order to "gratify their curioſity, or even to ſcoff at the ceremonial "of the different degrees;"* and we wiſhed to find men who would be ſtruck with awe, and be fired with enthuſiaſm at the ſight of theſe ceremonies. The ſtyle of reproach in which he writes to many other of the adepts clearly depicts a ſet of men deſtitute of all morals, and having no other views in the Order than to gratify their paſſions and their avarice; ſeeking none but their own intereſts, and often, through their diſſolute and immoral conduct, expoſing the *founder of the Order* to be looked upon as a *corrupter of youth*.† He was willing to have none but followers that could, like himſelf, gratify the moſt infamous paſſions in private, and who, under the maſk of virtue, moderation, and wiſdom, impoſing on the public, would accredit his Illuminiſm. With reſpect to the founder, we have ſeen him already deſcribing the turpitude of his morals, and the atrocious means to which he had reſorted to preſerve the maſk of his pretended virtue; let us now hear him upbraiding his firſt adepts with the public depravity of their morals as being prejudicial to his Illuminiſm: "I have received," ſays he, "the moſt fatal in-"telligence from *Thebes* (Freyſinguen). They have giv-"en a public ſcandal to the whole town, by admitting "into the Lodges that vile *Propertius, a libertine loaded* "*with debts, and a moſt deteſtable being.* In that ſame "town is to be found the Brother D——, who is nothing "more than a wicked fellow; our *Socrates*, who could be "of the greateſt uſe to us is always drunk; our *Auguſtus* "has acquired the worſt of reputations; the Brother *Al-*"*cibiades* is perpetually ſighing and pining away at the "feet of his landlady; *Tiberius* attempted to lay violent "hands on *Diomedes's* ſiſter, and ſuffered himſelf to be "caught by the huſband; *heavens! what men have I*

* Vol. II. Let. 1. † Ibid. Let. 11.

" *there for Areopagites!* What! we sacrifice our health, " our fortune, our reputation, to the good of the Order; " and these gentry give themselves up entirely to their " pleasures and ease, prostitute themselves, give public " scandals, and still wish to be acquainted with all our se- " crets: From this instant I shall look upon *Tiberius* " (Merz) as erased from our list. O Areopagites, Are- " opagites! I would much rather have none at all, than " not have men *more active* and *more submissive*."*

This is not the only letter in which Weishaupt plainly shows what opinion he had himself of his horde of adepts. The following gives a clearer insight into the cause of the alarm he had taken from their public scandals, and their evil tendency for the general good of the Sect. After having told them, *With regard to politics and morals, you are as yet far behind indeed*, he says, " Judge yourselves " what would be the consequence, if a man such as our " *Marcus Aurelius* (he was a professor of Gottinguen, " and his real name was FEDER) were once to know " what a *set of men destitute of morals, what a set of de-* " *bauchées, liars, spendthrifts, braggadochios, and fools* " *replete with vanity and pride*, you have among you; " if such a man, I say, were to see this, what opinion must " he form of us! Would he not be ashamed to belong to " a society whose chiefs *promise* such great things, *and ex-* " *ecute so ill the most beautiful plan*; and all from obsti- " nacy, and because they will not suffer one tittle of their " pleasures; now frankly declare, am I not in the right? " Do you not think that, in order to preserve a man, such " as *Marcus Aurelius*-Feder, whose name alone is worth " the best part of Germany, I ought to sacrifice and re- " scind all your whole province of *Greece* (Bavaria) the " innocent as well as the guilty? And should I take such " a step, who would be to blame? Is it not better to cut " off the gangrened members, than to lose the whole bo- " dy? Can you be so void of all feeling, as to see a select " society of men dissolve, *and abandon the reformation of* " *the world*, and that on account of the vices you have " plunged yourselves into, and the scandal you give?— " That would be still worse than an Herostratus, worse " than all the wicked men of all times and of all ages.— " Those of you, gentlemen, therefore, who do not ap-

* Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 9.

" prove of this plan, who will not ſacrifice your eaſe and " miſerable paſſions; thoſe, in ſhort, who are indifferent " to the praiſes of the beſt of men, and who will not la- " bor with us *at making all mankind but one and the ſame* " *family*; thoſe, I not only pray, but conjure, at leaſt not " to impede our labors, and not to entail on the Order " the infamy and ſhame of their public ſcandals. *Such* " *conduct would be worſe than that of real aſſaſſins, worſe* " *than the plague.*"*

However well-founded Weiſhaupt may have been in making uſe of ſuch reproaches, the rapid progreſs made by his Illuminiſm ſhould have convinced him, that his adepts, in the midſt of their debaucheries, never loſt ſight of the grand object of his myſteries. The reader may judge of their progreſs by the following note; which, at the ſame time that it denotes their ſucceſſes, will ſhow in what manner they reported them to each other. This document may alſo begin to explain various myſteries of the revolution.

NOTE, *on the progreſs of Illuminiſm, found among the papers of* Cato-*Zwack, written in his own hand, and contained in the firſt volume of the Original Writings.*

" We have† at *Athens* (Munich), 1ſt, a regular Lodge " of *Major Illuminees*; 2dly, a leſſer meeting of *Illumi-* " *nees*, very well adapted to our purpoſes; 3dly, a very " large and remarkable *Maſonic* Lodge; 4thly, two con- " ſiderable *Churches*, or Minerval Academies.

" At *Thebes* (Freyſinguen) alſo there is a *Minerval* " Lodge, as well as at *Megara* (Landſberg), at Brug- " hauſen, at Straubing, at *Epheſus* (Ingolſtadt), and in a " ſhort time we ſhall have one at *Corinth* (Ratiſbonne).

" We have bought a houſe (at Munich) for ourſelves; " and we have taken our precautions ſo well, that the in- " habitants not only do not cry out againſt us, but ſpeak

* Original Letters, Vol. 2, Let. 10.

† This note begins with theſe words: *The number in Greece conſiſts of*—Whether *Cato* did mark the number or not, I know not; but the editor has left it in blank, and the ſentence is incomplete. Mr. Robiſon has inſerted the *number* 600; but as he does not give his authority, I ſhall content myſelf with translating, and ſhall continue with Zwack.

" of us with eſteem, when they ſee us going publicly to " that houſe, or to the Lodge. *Certainly that is a great* " *deal for this town.*

" We have in this houſe a Cabinet of natural hiſtory, " inſtruments for experimental philoſophy, and a library; " and all this is daily augmented by the gifts of the Breth- " ren. The garden is to be turned into a botanical one.

" All the ſcientific journals are procured for the breth- " ren at the expenſe of the Order.

" By means of different pamphlets we have awakened " the attention of the princes and citizens to certain re- " markable abuſes; we oppoſe religious Orders with all " our might; and we have good reaſon to be pleaſed with " the ſucceſs of our endeavors.

" We have entirely new modelled the Lodge on our " plan, and have broke off all communication with Berlin.

" We have not only repreſſed all the enrollments of the " R. C. (Roſicrucians), but we have ſucceeded in caſting " ſuſpicions on them.

" We are in treaty for a ſtrict and effective alliance " with the Lodge of —, AND WITH THE NATIONAL " LODGE OF POLAND."

Another NOTE, *written by the ſame hand, on the politi- cal progreſs of the Order.*

" Through the intrigues of the Brethren the Jeſuits " have been diſmiſſed from all the Profeſſorſhips; we have " entirely cleared the univerſity of Ingolſtadt of them.*

" The Dowager Dutcheſs has modelled her *Inſtitute* " *for the Cadets* entirely on the plan prepared by the Or- " der. *That houſe is under our inſpection; all its Profeſ-* " *ſors belong to our Order; five of its members have been* " *well provided for, and all the pupils will be ours.*

" On the recommendation of the Brethren *Pylades* is " made the *eccleſiaſtical fiſcal counſellor.* By procuring " this place for him, we have put the church monies at " the diſpoſal of the Order: and by means of theſe monies " we have already repaired the mal-adminiſtration of our " ——— and of ———, and have delivered them from " the hands of the uſurers.

* Durch die verwendung der Br. Br. (Brüdern) wurden die Jeſuiten von allen profeſſor ſtellen entfernt, die Univerſität Ingolſtadt ganz von ihnen gereinigt.

" With theſe monies alſo we ſupport new Brethren.

" The Brethren who are in orders have all been pro-
" vided with *livings* and *curacies*, or with preceptor's
" places.

" Through our means too, the Brothers *Armenius* and
" *Cortez* have been *made Profeſſors in the Univerſity of*
" *Ingolſtadt*. We have alſo got purſes for all our young
" candidates in the ſame univerſity.

" On the recommendation alſo of our Order, two young
" men are travelling *at the expenſe of the Court*. They
" are at preſent at Rome.

" The *Germanic ſchools* are all under the inſpection
" of the Order, and have no other prefects than our
" Brethren.

" *The Benevolent Society is alſo under our direction.*

" The Order has obtained an augmentation of pay and
" ſalaries for a great number of Brethren who are em-
" ployed in the *Dicaſteres* (that is to ſay, at the boards of
" Adminiſtration).

" *We have obtained four eccleſiaſtical chairs for as*
" *many of our Brethren.*

" We ſhall ſhortly be *maſters of the Bartholomew In-*
" *ſtitution for the education of young eccleſiaſtics.* All
" our meaſures are ready for that purpoſe. The buſineſs
" has taken a very favorable turn; *by this means we may*
" *ſtock all Bavaria with prieſts both clever and proper*"
(for our object).

" We have ſimilar hopes and views on another houſe
" of prieſts.

" Through inceſſant application, indefatigable efforts,
" and the intrigues of *different* — — by —, we have at
" length ſucceeded in not only maintaining the Eccleſi-
" aſtical Council, which the Jeſuits wiſhed to deſtroy;
" but alſo in aſſigning over to this council, to the colleges
" and univerſities, all thoſe goods which had ſtill remain-
" ed under the adminiſtration of the Jeſuits in Bavaria;
" ſuch as the inſtitution for the miſſion, the golden alms,
" the houſe of retreat, and the funds for the newly con-
" verted. Our Major Illuminees, to effectuate this, *held ſix*
" *meetings*; *ſeveral of them remained there whole nights*;
" and — —."

This latter article is alſo mutilated by the editor of the Original Writings. The Court of Bavaria did not think proper to publiſh the names of thoſe *different perſons* (mi-

niſters and others) who ſo well ſeconded Weiſhaupt and his adepts on this occaſion. The Jeſuits at leaſt ſtrongly ſuſpected the Count of SENSEIM to be one of the *different* —— ——, and thoſe of the Engliſh college of Liege, in particular, had reaſon to believe that he was one of thoſe to whom they were indebted for the loſs of a penſion of ten thouſand florins, which had always been paid to them by the Court of Bavaria. How far theſe ſuſpicions are grounded I do not pretend to ſay; but certain it is, that this Count Senſeim appears on the liſt of adepts under the characteriſtic of *King Alfred.* But without our entering into any diſcuſſion, the two notes I have juſt tranſlated clearly evince, that the adepts did not deſerve to be ſo frequently reprimanded for inactivity as Weiſhaupt ſeems to have thought.

What a ſtrong light is thrown on the ſecret hiſtory of the Revolution by theſe two notes, even in their mutilated ſtate! A large portion of the clergy, it is true, have been faithful to their duty; but Europe has been aſtoniſhed at ſeeing ſo many of them plunged into the moſt horrid ſcenes of impiety. We here learn from *Cato*-Zwack who thoſe falſe paſtors were. Theſe atrocious hypocrites are ſelected by the Sect, imbued with all the venom of its principles, and then uſhered into the boſom of the church under its baneful protection. It had ſaid to them, aſſume the appearance of piety and zeal, and pretend to believe in the ſymbol of the prieſthood, and we ſhall find means of inſtalling you in the livings of the church, and of making you the rectors and paſtors of the flock. You ſhall publicly preach the doctrine of the Goſpel, and your exterior ſhall coincide with the duties of thoſe ſtations; but in ſecret you ſhall ſecond our views, and prepare the way for us. It would be a futile objection to aſk how it was poſſible to find monſters whoſe depravity could make them conſent to act ſuch ſcenes of hypocriſy even in the Holy of Holies! We have the authority of *Cato*-Zwack, who tells us that they aſſumed the characters and functions of rectors and curates, of canons, profeſſors, and teachers in the *Catholic* Church. We ſhall ſoon ſee the ſame game played with reſpect to the *Proteſtant* Church; and thus were both churches miniſtered to by wretches who had ſworn their deſtruction.

A ſimilar mode of proceeding was adopted for the deſtruction of the ſtate, and that at the firſt dawn of Illu-

miniſm. It is *Cato* again who informs us of the intrigues, views, and ſucceſſes of the Sect, inſinuating its adepts into the *Dicaſteres*, the councils, and boards of adminiſtration, which are paid by the prince and ſtate; he points them out as having gained acceſs into the councils of the prince and the ſtate, carrying with them all the treacherous plots of the moſt diſaſtrous conſpiracy againſt both prince and ſtate.

Many readers have been aſtoniſhed at ſeeing whole generations riſe imbued with the principles of the moſt rank jacobiniſm, and that from ſchools founded by princes for the inſtruction of youth; but *Cato* again ſolves the difficulty, when he ſpeaks of the *Inſtitution* founded by the Dowager Dutcheſs.

In ſhort, it will be incumbent on future hiſtorians to tell their readers whence were obtained thoſe treaſures ſpent in the propagation of the principles of the Sect, in the peregrinations of its apoſtles, and in the ſupport of its pennyleſs adepts; they will find the taſk already completed by the Sect itſelf, which tells us, *that its novices are ſupported at the expenſe of the public foundations*; that its miſſionaries are paid and ſent to foreign parts by the prince, who has been miſled to believe that he was ſending men in the purſuit of arts and ſciences. Moreover, does not the Sect betray itſelf, when introducing its adepts into the *adminiſtration of the eccleſiaſtical property*, and with that property paying the debts of its Lodges, ſupporting the apoſtles of its conſpiracies, re-eſtabliſhing its former clubs, and erecting new ones. Let the hiſtorian reflect on the conditions under which ſuch a multitude of adepts have been uſhered into livings and other employments, and he will ſoon perceive the funds of the Sect ſwelled to an immenſe bulk by thoſe ſhares which it preſerves for its own uſe out of all the emoluments which it has procured for its adepts either in church or ſtate.

But in this ſame note an enigma occurs of a quite different nature.——The reader may have obſerved *Cato-Zwack* at once exulting in having founded a *maſonic Lodge* at Munich for the Illuminees, and in the victories gained by the Illuminees over the *Roſicrucian Maſons*. ——What can have given riſe to this contradiction, at the ſame time to imitate the Free-maſons, and to declare war againſt the moſt famous adepts of Maſonry. Theſe queſtions naturally lead us to the inveſtigation of the moſt

profound device that Weiſhaupt ever invented for the propagation of his plots. They relate to his firſt attempt, to the diverſity of the means uſed, his ſucceſs, and finally to his triumphant intruſion into the maſonic Lodges. In order to ſolve them, I ſhall, in the following Chapters, lay before my reader the moſt remarkable paſſages of the Archives of the Sect, or of the letters and avowals of the moſt celebrated adepts relating to that famous plan, the execution of which belongs to the ſecond epoch of the Sect; and unfortunately it may be too truly called the epoch of the Illuminization of Free Maſonry.

CHAP. III.

Epoch of the Illuminization of Free-Maſonry.—Weiſhaupt's attempts on the Maſonic Lodges.—Acquiſition of Knigge, and his firſt Services.

LET us, for a moment, ſuppoſe every thing that has been ſaid in theſe Memoirs relating to the nature, object, origin, and ſecret of Maſonry, to be no more than a conjectural ſyſtem; let it ſtill further be ſuppoſed, that the cloud which encompaſſes the origin and hiſtory of Maſonry is for ever impenetrable; let even the Brethren and their Maſters exalt ſtill higher the merits and glory of their anceſtry; yet, for the misfortune of our cotemporaries, the day is come when all this glory is ſullied—when the Orators of their own Lodges with grief exclaim,—"Brethren and Companions, give free vent to "your ſorrow; the days of *innocent Equality* are gone by. "However holy our myſteries may have been, the Lodges "are now profaned and ſullied.—Brethren and Companions, let your tears flow;—attired in your mourning "robes attend, and let us ſeal up the gates of our temples, "for the profane have found means of penetrating into "them. They have converted them into retreats for their "impiety, into dens of conſpirators. Within the ſacred "walls they have planned their horrid deeds, and the ruin "of nations. Let us weep over our *legions* which they "have ſeduced. Lodges that may ſerve as hiding places "for theſe conſpirators muſt remain for ever ſhut both to "us and to every good citizen."* Theſe complaints and awful lamentations are not mine; they proceed from the mouth of the venerable Maſter of a Lodge; they are contained in the funeral oration pronounced on Maſonry in preſence of the Brethren aſſembled for the laſt time in a Lodge in Germany, and ſighing over the ſorrowful deſtiny of their Confraternity. Unfortunately for the honor of the Brotherhood, their ſorrow was but too well-ground-

* See the diſcourſe of the Orator on the ſhutting up of a Lodge.

ed; and it is our duty to adduce proofs of it. Whatever may have been its myſteries heretofore, FREE-MASONRY *is now become criminal.* If it be not ſo in itſelf, it is become ſo through Weiſhaupt's means; it has brought about, or he has brought about through its means, the moſt diſaſtrous of all revolutions. This awful truth can no longer remain hidden. Hiſtory muſt ſound its trumpet, and let it adduce its proofs; for never has it yet given ſo awful a leſſon to nations on the fatal effects of ſecret ſocieties.

From the commencement of his Illuminiſm Weiſhaupt had foreſeen the great ſupport he could draw from the multitude of Free Maſons diſperſed throughout Europe, ſhould he ever be fortunate enough to form an alliance with them. "Let me tell you a piece of news," he writes to *Ajax* as early as the year 1777; "Before the next carnival I ſhall go to Munich, and ſhall get myſelf admitted a Free-maſon. Do not let this alarm you; *our buſineſs will not ſuffer in the leaſt; but by this ſtep we become acquainted with a tie or new ſecret, and by that means ſhall be ſtronger than the others.*"* Weiſhaupt accordingly received the firſt degrees of Maſonry at Munich, in St. Theodore's Lodge. At firſt he could only obſerve the bagatelle of an innocent fraternity, yet even then he perceived that *Equality* and *Liberty* were the groundwork of all the amuſements of the Brotherhood. He ſurmiſed further myſteries. In vain they aſſured him, that all political or religious diſcuſſions were baniſhed from the Lodges, and that every true Maſon was eſſentially a ſtaunch friend to his prince and to Chriſtianity. He had ſaid the ſame thing to *his Novices* and to *his Minervals*; and he knew too well what became of all theſe proteſtations in his Illuminiſm. He eaſily conceived that a ſimilar fate awaited theſe declarations in the higher degrees of Maſonry. Soon his faithful Zwack furniſhed him with the means of penetrating into the higher myſteries of Maſonry without ſubjecting himſelf to all the neceſſary trials. This latter adept had made acquaintance at Augſbourg with an Abbé of the name of MAROTTI. At one of theſe interviews Marotti *had initiated him into the higher degrees, and even into thoſe of the Scotch Lodges. —He had explained to him all the myſteries of Maſonry,*

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Letter 6, to *Ajax.*

absolutely founded, as he said, *on religion and the history of the church*. *Cato*-Zwack shews us, by the eagerness with which he announces his discovery to *Spartacus*-Weishaupt, how much this explication coincided with the plots of his impiety.* No sooner has Weishaupt (who on his side was making all possible enquiries) received the news of this interview, though no particulars were mentioned, than he immediately answers, "I doubt "much whether you are acquainted with the real object "of Masonry; but I have acquired some information on "that subject, which I mean to make use of in my plan, "and *which I reserve for our higher degrees*.† *Cato* soon sent a circumstantial account to his master of the *explanation* that had been communicated to him, and received for answer, "the important discovery you have "made at *Nicodemia* (Augsbourg), in your interview "with the Abbé Marotti, *gives me extreme pleasure*.— "*Profit of this occasion, and get all you can from him*."‡

In reading such passages of their most intimate correspondence, one is naturally led to ask what can occasion this extreme joy in the two most monstrous conspirators that have ever appeared on earth, at the mere discovery of the mysteries of the occult Lodges of Masonry, and of those even of the *Scotch* Lodges!—Has Weishaupt then been anticipated by the Masons in the explanation he had given of their symbols, and which he has actually inserted in his mysteries?§ Could there have pre-existed in these occult Lodges of Masonry an impiety and plots strangely preparatory for that infidelity and those plots of *Cato* and *Spartacus*?—The consequence is frightful, but is that a reason why nations should be blind and deny the testimony of truth; are we, for the honor of Masonry, to be silent on the hidden snares laid for them, and which will continue to be laid not only for them but for all nations in general.‖

Well satisfied with the discovery he had made, Wei-

* See *Cato*'s Journal, *Diarium des Cato*, Original Writings, Vol. I.

† Ibid. Letter 31, 2d Dec. 1778.

‡ Original Writings, Letter of the 6th Jan. 1779.

§ See Vol. III. of these Memoirs, *Degree of Epopt*.

‖ Ibid. Letter 32.

ſhaupt begins to preſs the eſtabliſhment of a Maſonic Lodge for his pupils of Munich. He immediately ordered all his Areopagites to get themſelves made Maſons; he laid his plans for ſimilar initiations at Aichſtadt; and in all the other colonies of the Order.* Notwithſtanding all his efforts, ſucceſs declared but ſlowly in his favor.—He was in poſſeſſion of the ſecrets of the Maſons, but they were not initiated in his.—The Roſicrucians ſaw with regret another ſecret ſociety riſing, which drew its members from their Lodges, which already began to bring their meetings into diſrepute by bragging that it alone was in poſſeſſion of the real ſecrets of Maſonry.—Notwithſtanding the impiety of the ſecrets of the Roſicrucians, and though their ſyſtems all had a ſimilar tendency with reſpect to the annihilation of Chriſtianity, ſtill the path they had choſen was quite different from that which Weiſhaupt had adopted. He deſpiſed all the nonſenſe of their Alchymy; above all he deteſted their Theoſophy. He laughed at the double principle, at the *good* and *evil* genii, and at all thoſe dæmons on which the Roſicrucian founds his Magic, Cabal, and Myſteries of ABRAC;† in ſhort, notwithſtanding all the benefit Weiſhaupt expected to reap from theſe myſteries, ſymbols and explanations of Maſonry, he treated with the moſt ſove-

* Let it be always remembered, that we continue to except the Maſons who only acknowledge the firſt three degrees; *but* EVEN THESE *ought never to forget, that it was precisely their firſt three degrees which ſerved as* A CLOAK *to the grand intruſion of Illuminiſm.*

† The word *Abrac* is derived from *Abraxas*, which is only a ſet of Greek letters put together by BASILIDES, a famous Sophiſter of Alexandria, and an hereſiarch of the ſecond century, expreſſing the number of 365 *Intelligences* or ſpirits, which conſtituted his God. St. Jerome ſays, that *Abraxas* was the fictitious God of *Baſilides*, expreſſed in Greek numerals,

A B P A Ξ A Σ
1.2.100.1.60.1.200.

Baſilides grounded all his magic on the number of his genii; and hence the term *Science of Abrac* is uſed for the ſcience of Magic *(Vide Hieronimus adverſus Luciferum—Auguſtinus liber de hæreſiis—Tertullian de Baſilide.)* —MANES adopted many of his errors from this Baſilides, and particularly his *Eons* and his magic. Theſe *myſteries of Abrac* are mentioned in the Maſonic manuſcript of Oxford, which bears teſtimony that ſome Brethren were as much addicted to theſe *myſteries of Abrac* three hundred years ago, as many of our modern Roſicrucians.

vereign contempt every thing that is purely cabaliſtic folly and reverie in the Roſicruſians. He adopted all their means of impiety and laughed at their fooleries. It was the contention of impiety, fallen on the one ſide into the moſt abſurd Atheiſm, and on the other into the moſt miſerable ſuperſtition. Hence aroſe thoſe diſſentions and jealouſies mentioned by *Cato*-Zwack when tracing the progreſs of Illuminiſm; and it was for a long time doubtful which of the two competitors was to be crowned with ſucceſs. During the conflict we ſee Weiſhaupt daily inventing new means of triumph; but he was undecided as to the uſe he ſhould make of his victory.—"In the firſt "place, he writes to Zwack, "I ſhould have wiſhed to "ſend to London for a conſtitution for our Brethren; and "I ſhould ſtill be of that opinion if we could make our-"ſelves maſters of the Chapter (the Maſonic) of Munich. "You will do well to try. I can come to no determination "on that ſubject until I have ſeen what turn our affairs "take. Perhaps I ſhall only adopt a reform; or it may be "better to create a new ſyſtem of Maſonry for ourſelves; "or, may it not be tho't convenient to incorporate Ma-"ſonry into our Order, and thus to make but one body "of them both. Time alone can decide this."*

To relieve the founder from this ſtate of indeciſion, it was neceſſary that he ſhould become acquainted with a man who laid leſs ſtreſs on difficulties, and who knew how to cut them ſhort. The demon who wields the fiery ſword of revolutions throws a Hanoverian Baron in his way, of the name of KNIGGE. At this name every honeſt German Maſon will ſtart back, as at the man who corrupted *even* the fraternal bagatelles of the *firſt degrees* of Maſonry, and conſummated the depravity of their impious Roſicrucians. The honeſt Brethren, in their indignation, would almoſt forget Weiſhaupt to overpower Knigge with the whole weight of their hatred; and to heap on him alone all the opprobrium of the Lodges now become the great ſeminaries of Illuminiſm. The truth obliges us to ſay, that *Philo*-Knigge was no other than the worthy tool of *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt in this grand intruſion. That which was executed by the one had long ſince been conceived by the other; and, in all probability, had it not been for the profound combinations of the one, the wicked activi-

Philo-Knigge.

* Original Writings, Letter 57 to *Cato*, March 1782.

ty of the other would have proved fruitleſs in its attempts. —Unfortunately in the re-union of their baneful talents were to be found all the requiſites for the moſt conſummate conſpirators; in the one, for the directing of the moſt diſaſtrous of all Sects; in the other, for the propagation of its myſteries and the recruiting of its conſpiring bands.

Weiſhaupt, like Satan, profoundly meditated the deſtruction of mankind, while Knigge may be compared to thoſe Genii winged like the plague, ever hovering and impatient to receive the Orders of the King of Hell to bend their courſe wherever he will point out evil to be done. Weiſhaupt proceeds ſlowly in his combinations, weighs his reſources, compares the different eſſays, and, leſt he ſhould miſtake, defers and ſuſpends his choice. Knigge, in his levity, has ſooner acted than deliberated; he ſees where evil can be done; he does it, and is ready to ſound a retreat, ſhould his firſt attempts fail of ſucceſs. The one foreſees the obſtacles he may have to encounter, and ſeeks to evade them; the other proceeds boldly in ſpite of all, and looks on the time ſpent in reflection as ſo much loſt from the execution. The former is aware of every fault that can impede his progreſs; the latter proceeds heedleſs of the falſe ſteps he may have taken.

Encompaſſed with darkneſs, how great would have been the happineſs of Weiſhaupt could he but have been gratified with a ſight of the world in ruins, and that without being himſelf ſeen! The conſciouſneſs of his crimes would have been to him that grateful ſenſation which virtue raiſes in the honeſt heart. The power of doing harm is more dear to him, than a celebrity which might have proved fatal to the execution of his plots. Knigge, on the contrary, ſhows himſelf every where, meddles with every thing; his utmoſt ambition was to appear to have been the agent in whatever was done. Both are impious, and both have ſworn the overthrow of the laws; but Weiſhaupt from the very beginning had laid down his principles; he had followed them through all their conſequences; his revolution is to be the accompliſhment of them all; and he will think his attempt fruitleſs, ſhould a ſingle law, ſocial or religious, eſcape the general wreck. With Knigge, both his impiety and his plans of rebellion have had their gradual progreſſion: he ſucceſſively attended all the public and occult ſchools of the Infideli-

ty of the age. He can vary his means and adapt himself to the different characters he has to deal with. He also wishes for a revolution, but he will not lose the occasion of one that offers, in hopes of that particular one which he wishes to operate. Where he cannot form an Atheist, he will form a Deist or a Sceptic; as circumstances may require, he will act the part of any species of Sophister, or engage in any degree of rebellion. Weishaupt wishes to involve in universal ruin, religion, magistrates, society, and property, that he may instal his *nomade* clans, his *Men Kings*, and his *Equality* and *Liberty*. Knigge is content to destroy less, provided he despotically sways over all that has escaped destruction. In the silent shades of his retreat, the one has more accurately studied the nature of man, and has laid his plans for new-modelling human nature according to his views. The other is better acquainted with them from his habit of intrigue, and is easier pleased with the ascendancy he can require over them. In short, the former may be said to prepare his poisons with more art, while the latter retails them better; and between them they wield the mighty power of destruction.

When the common enemy of human nature brought these two fiends of rebellion in contact with each other, they had already acquired all those habits and means which must render their union fatal to mankind. The Hanoverian Baron had been cast upon the earth nearly at the same time that the Bavarian monster had been engendered. His whole life appears to have been but one continued preparation for the part he was to act in seconding Weishaupt, and particularly to open the gates of the Lodges from the North to the South, and from the East to the west, to receive the founder of Illuminism, and deliver over to him all those adepts who, trained by the higher mysteries of Masonry, had long since been prepared to receive those of the modern *Spartacus*.

Knigge informs us, that from his youth he had always had an invincible propensity towards secret societies; and that while a boy he had founded one of those little societies so common in the Protestant Universities, and of which we have before spoken. He had acquired this turn from his father, whom he had observed spending his time in the study of the Masonic Mysteries, and his money in the vain pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone. The father's

gold had vaniſhed in the crucible, and the ſon reaped nothing but the droſs. No ſooner had he attained the neceſſary age, than he got himſelf made a Freemaſon in one of thoſe Lodges called of the *Strict Obſervance.* He roſe to the degree of *Templar*, that is to ſay, of thoſe Maſons who, ſtill flattering themſelves with the hopes of recovering the poſſeſſions of that once celebrated Order, diſtribute in the mean time the different titles formerly borne by thoſe Knights. Knigge became one of theſe Brother Commanders under the title of Eques a Cygno (*Knight of the Swan*). Contrary to his expectations, he found this to be but an empty title without any emolument. Wiſhing to make up for this deficiency, and ſtill more actuated with the deſire of acquiring that importance in the Lodges at leaſt, which he could not acquire elſewhere, he made himſelf the diſciple of the famous Mountebank SCHROEDER at Marbourg. When in company with this Schroeder, or the Caglioſtro of Germany, *What man*, as he ſays himſelf, *would not have been fired with zeal for Theoſophy, Magic, and Alchymy?* Theſe were the myſteries of the Maſons of the *Strict Obſervance. Violent, fantaſtical*, and *reſtleſs*, as he deſcribes himſelf, he at the age of five and twenty was a firm believer in all theſe myſteries; he even practiſed all the evocations of ſpirits, and other follies of ancient and modern Cabal. Soon he began to doubt whether *he really believed or ought to believe* in all this ſtuff. *He flattered himſelf* with the hopes that, in the midſt of theſe enchantments and magic ſpells, *the chaos of his ideas would ſubſide.* To gain knowledge, and put his mind at eaſe, he would willingly have gained admiſſion into every Maſonic Lodge. He found means of getting admitted into the higher degrees, *procured the rareſt and moſt myſterious manuſcripts*, and even ſtudied all their different Sects.* Then, as if he wiſhed to convert himſelf into a vaſt emporium of every error, he applied to the doctrines of the modern Sophiſters, and thus plied his unfortunate brain on the one ſide with all the delirious conceits of Cabaliſtic Maſonry, and on the other with the impious doctrines of the ſelf-created Philoſophers. His attempts at fortune were ſimilar to thoſe he had made for the acquiſition of ſcience, nor was he more ſucceſsful.—A courtier without

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 24.

favor, he deſerts his Prince to take the direction of a Play-houſe; thence he accepts a commiſſion in the ſervice of the Prince of Heſſe Caſſel; but is ſoon diſmiſſed, in conſequence of the violence and reſtleſſneſs of his temper.—He then turns author, and writes violent declamations againſt the Roman Catholics; then, in conſequence of ſome hope of preferment (I know not what), he makes a public profeſſion of their faith; but, not ſucceeding as he hoped, he deſerts them, abuſes them more ſcurrilouſly than ever, takes part with the Proteſtants, but writes in favor of Deiſm.* Such had been the reſtleſs education of the man who was to prove the moſt worthy ſupporter and the moſt active co-operator that Weiſhaupt yet had found.

By a ſtrange coincidence, juſt at the very time that theſe Conſpirators met, Knigge had been projecting a conqueſt of Maſonry, and had formed ſuch plans for an univerſal conſpiracy, that he ſcarcely leaves the honor of invention to Weiſhaupt. The account given by Knigge will beſt explain this coincidence.

It was in the year of our Lord 1780; and a general aſſembly of Maſons had been convoked at Willemſbaden for the next year, under the protection of the Duke of Brunſwick and of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. "On "the news of this," ſays *Philo*-Knigge, "I caſt an eye "on the immenſe multitude of brethren: I obſerved it to "be compoſed of men of all ſtations in life, of noblemen, "of men of great riches, of great power, and alſo of Bre-"thren poſſeſſing great knowledge and activity. I ſaw "theſe men all actuated by one common ſentiment, tho' "I could not very well conceive the object of their union. "I ſaw them all bound by an oath of the moſt profound "ſecrecy, without being able to form any better idea as "to the object of it. I beheld them divided in their opi-"nions, nor could I comprehend on which ſide the error "lay; ſtill leſs could I ſurmiſe what had been the grand "obſtacle that had impeded the advantages which man-"kind had reaſon to expect from Freemaſonry.—Never-"theleſs how great would theſe advantages have been, if "diſtinguiſhing actions from ſpeculations, opinions had "been left to each individual, while a regular ſyſtem of "conduct was followed, perpetually tending towards the

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 25.

" advantage of humanity in general, *and of the Brethren* " *in particular!* Had they agreed on a ſyſtem of laws " for the mutual and general ſupport of each other; to " raiſe depreſſed or obſcure merit; to ſecond with all the " power and influence of Maſonry all plans for general " utility; *to favor the advancement of the Brethren; to* " *meaſure out the different employments in the State to* " *the Brethren, according to their capacities, and in pro-* " *portion as they ſhould have profited of the advantages* " *to be reaped from* SECRET SOCIETIES *in the arts of* " *knowing men and of governing them without con-* " *ſtraint.*"*

" Meditating and muſing on theſe ideas," continues " Knigge, " I had reſolved on all my plans of reform, " and had ſent them to Willemſbaden. I received polite " anſwers; they promiſed to take my work into conſide- " ration at the general meeting, that was about to be held. " But I ſoon had reaſon to believe, that the benevolent " and diſintereſted views of the illuſtrious chiefs and pro- " tectors of Maſonry would be but very ill ſeconded; that " partial views and diſcordant intereſts would play off " every artifice to make the ſyſtems of particular Sects " predominate; and I foreſaw how difficult it would *be* " *to make one cap fit ſo many heads.* Meanwhile I com- " municated my plans to different Maſons, and repeated- " ly expreſſed my fears; when, in July 1780, I made ac- " quaintance with *Diomedes* (the Marquis of Conſtan- " za) in a Lodge at Frankfort on the Mein, who had " been ſent from Bavaria by the Illuminees to eſtabliſh " new Colonies in the Proteſtant States. I informed him " of my views with reſpect to a general reform of Free- " maſonry; and that, perfectly convinced of the inutility " of the meeting at Willemſbaden I had reſolved to work " at the eſtabliſhment of my ſyſtem ſeconded by a few " Maſons my particular friends, and who were ſpread " throughout Germany. After having heard me explain " my intentions, why," ſaid he, " ſhould you give your- " ſelf the trouble to found a new ſociety, when there al- " ready exiſts one which has undertaken all that you wiſh " to do, which can in every way gratify your thirſt for " knowledge, and open a wide field for your activity and " deſire of being uſeful; a ſociety, in ſhort, which is in

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 28.

"poſſeſſion of all the ſciences and all the authority neceſ-
"ſary for the accompliſhment of your object."*

The Marquis was correct; for there exiſted a moſt ſtriking coincidence between the plots of his maſter and thoſe propoſed by Knigge to raiſe depreſſed or obſcure merit, and ſuccor ſuffering virtue; to teach the adepts the art of knowing men; to conduct mankind to happineſs, and to govern them without their perceiving it.—Like Knigge, Weiſhaupt alſo had invented that inviſible concatenation which, proceeding from the tenebrous meeting of his lurking ſenate, was to extend its ramifications over every claſs of citizens, and, dictating laws from theſe dark receſſes, the Brotherhood was to leave no art untried to cauſe them to be promulgated by the councils of the Prince.† Thus far the two Archconſpirators follow the ſame plan; but the truth is, that Weiſhaupt only ſeeks power to deſtroy, and gives laws but to annihilate every law; while *Philo*-Knigge will look upon nations as ſufficiently free, provided he can but ſubject their magiſtrates and rulers to the decrees of the Maſonic Lodges; though the Liberty, therefore, ſought by the one be the death of ſociety, that of the other will be its eternal ſhame. Two ſuch men could not long remain ſeparate; pride may give riſe to temporary diſagreements: but they will co-operate ſufficiently for the miſery of mankind.

Knigge could ſcarcely expreſs the joy and aſtoniſhment with which he learned that the plans he had conceived were already executing. He threw himſelf into the arms of the Illuminizing Apoſtle, and immediately received the degrees of Candidate, of Novice, and was even admitted into the *Minerval* Academy. Weiſhaupt ſoon felt the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, though in Revolutionary Impiety he found Knigge even more advanced than he wiſhed. This latter immediately ſet to work for the Illuminees with as much zeal as if he had been proſecuting his own plan, and took upon himſelf the miſſion on which *Diomedes* had been ſent. Never had Illuminiſm beheld ſo active and ſo inſinuating a

* See his Laſt Obſervations, P. 32.

† Original Writings, firſt Statutes of the Illuminee, and Inſtructions for the Regent.

Recruiter. The list of Novices and Brethren was swollen with amazing rapidity, nor did he, like Weishaupt, merely enlist youths coming from the College, but men who had attained the age of maturity, and whose impiety was already known to him.—He more particularly selected those whom in the Lodges he had observed to have a greater propensity for the Occult Mysteries.

Weishaupt in his first surprize could not help admiring his new Apostle; and thus extols him to his Areopagites: "*Philo*-Knigge alone does more than all of you "put together could even hope to do. . . . *Philo* is the "master from whom you all should take lessons. . . . "Give me only six such men, and I will engage to change "the whole face of the universe."* The grand point which gave Weishaupt so much pleasure was the *discovery of that generation of men* who were already prepared for his plots, and which in part dispensed with the laborious education he had found necessary for the preparation of youth; and indeed we soon after see him instructing his recruiters to follow Knigge's method of proceeding.† Nor was he less pleased to see the Sect daily gaining ground, and that without any violence, in those very Lodges which he wished so much to reduce under his subjection. This rapid success, however, gave rise to difficulties which must have disgusted any other man; but Knigge was exactly the person to remedy them.

Tricked by the Apostolic Marquis, as the latter had been before by Weishaupt, with regard to the antiquity, omniscience, and power of Illuminism, Knigge had only been admitted as yet to the preparatory degrees; nor had he the least suspicion that the remaining degrees had no existence but in the brain or portfolio of the modern *Spartacus*. He expected grand mysteries; he asked for them, both in his own name and in the name of the Old Masons who were not to be treated like boys from the college in their *Minerval* Academy.—Weishaupt had recourse to all those subterfuges by which he had heretofore succeeded in keeping his pupils in suspense with respect to the higher mysteries; and the more he extolled them by asking for new trials the more pressing Knigge

* Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 56, and Last Observations, P. 49.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 7.

became, who told him that such trials might be *necessary in the Catholic countries, but were by no means so in the Protestant ones*, where the spirit of Philosophy had made a much greater progress.*—Weishaupt continued to shift his ground, and Knigge became more pressing in his demands.—The old Masons, famous for decyphering the hieroglyphics, asked for some which might answer to the enthusiasm with which he had inspired them. They threw out hints of abandoning him as an impostor who had deluded them with idle promises, unless he kept his word with them; and Illuminism must have been irreparably undone had so many Brethren abandoned him under that persuasion. These perpetual solicitations at length forced Weishaupt's secret from him: "His letters (says "Knigge) at length informed me, that this Order, pro-"fessedly so ancient, had no other existence than in his "own head, and in the *preparatory classes* he had esta-"blished in the Catholic countries; but that he had a "large quantity of excellent materials for the higher de-"grees. In making this avowal he begged me to pardon "his little finesse; for (said he) I have sought in vain af-"ter worthy co-operators; no person has ever entered so "deeply into my views as you have; nor has any person "seconded me with so much activity. He told me, that "I was a man sent from Heaven to second him in his "undertaking; that he threw himself upon my honor, "and was willing to give me up all his papers; and that "in future, not looking upon himself as my superior, he "would be content to work under my direction; that the "Brethren were expecting me in Bavaria, where all the "necessary steps could be agreed upon, and that they were "ready to pay my expenses there."†

Had Weishaupt thought Knigge to be a man less to be depended upon, this would have been the only error we should have seen this conspiring genius fall into. He must have been the only man on earth who could have looked upon his higher degrees and means of seduction as incomplete. The mysteries and the discourse for the degree of Epopt were finished; all that has been laid before the reader on this degree was already composed; ‡ Knigge

* Last Observations of *Philo*, from P. 35 to 55.

† Last Observations of *Philo*, from P. 35 to 55.

‡ See the original of this discourse in the Original Writings, Vol. II, Part II.

may have ornamented the impiety and disorganizing principles; but neither Knigge nor all the powers of hell could have added to them. The same may be said of the means of seduction. All the cunning of the *Insinuators* and *directing Illuminees* is to be found either in his first degrees, or in the instruction for the Provincials; his irresolution can only be attributed to the immensity of his powers for seduction which no other person but himself could conceive. Hence he was led to suppose that what he had done was incomplete, because he thought he could do it still better. In a word, had he sent his code as it was, Knigge would have profited of what had been completed, and would never even have surmised that he could have perfected it. Elated to a great degree at the idea of extricating from a difficulty a man whose plots and systems so perfectly coincided with his own, he hastened to his succor. He had soon run over all the papers that Weishaupt entrusted him with; made his appearance at the Council of the Areopagites; and in a few days got the better of all their irresolution with respect to the division of classes and degrees, and of the higher and lower mysteries. The chief point, and which in these circumstances required an immediate decision, was to know what rank should be given to the Freemasons in the Order, as a mode of facilitating the general intrusion into the Lodges. Knigge had already proved that they might entirely rely on him as to the number of Masonic brethren to be gained over to Illuminism; his vote carried the point, and the *Intermediary Class* of Masonry was irrevocably determined.

About this time the Deputies of the Lodges flocked from all parts to Willemsbaden. It was an object of great importance for Weishaupt and his Council, that no steps inimical to their views on Masonry should be taken at that assembly.—To obtain an account of all their proceedings, *Philo* had taken care to have *Minos* named a deputy. As to himself, he preferred being in the neighborhood of the congress, there to watch its motions, and only to act by his agents. He had received full powers from Weishaupt and the Council of Areopagites to take such steps as circumstances might require.

The article which required the greatest expedition was, to complete the higher parts of the code, and to decide on what degrees were to be given to the Masons, who were

too far advanced in the myſteries to be ſubjected to the trials of the Minerval School; and Knigge had ſpeedily executed this firſt part of his miſſion. His active pen had ſoon made choice of its materials from Weiſhaupt's portfolio. According to his agreement with the Areopagites, he left all the preparatory degrees, ſuch as *Novice*, *Minerval*, and *Minor Illuminee*, which had already been conferred on ſeveral of the adepts, in their primitive ſtate. It had alſo been agreed, that the *firſt three degrees* of Maſonry (now become the intermediary degrees of Illuminiſm) ſhould not be touched. He united the *Major* Illuminee to the Scotch degrees. In the degree of *Epopt* and Regent, he condenſed every ſeditious and impious principle, as well as every article that he could find in Weiſhaupt's works; and hence aroſe that aſtoniſhing code already inveſtigated in the foregoing volume.

It was not long before Weiſhaupt again gave way to his irreſolution; for he was always inventing ſome new art of ſeduction; but while he was deliberating Knigge was acting. The ſucceſs of the ſecond part of his miſſion, or his views on the Maſons of Willemſbaden, entirely depending on the final determination of the myſteries for the degrees of *Epopt* and *Regent*, Weiſhaupt was preſſed once more, and, approving the whole, *he ſigned and ſealed them with the grand ſeal of the Order.*

Knigge now had only to attend to his miſſion at Willemſbaden. We ſhall ſoon follow him to that Congreſs of Maſonry; but we muſt firſt explain to our readers of what ſpecies of men this grand aſſembly was compoſed; and what the great agents were, that had already prepared the ſucceſs and enſured the triumph of the new myſteries over thoſe of Freemaſonry.*

* For the whole of this chapter, ſee the Laſt Obſervations of *Philo*, from P. 55 to 123; alſo his firſt Letter to *Cato*, Original Writings, Vol. II. and his convention with the Areopagites, Ibid.

CHAP. IV.

Congreſs of the Freemaſons at Willemſbaden—Of their divers Sects, and particularly of that of the Theoſophiphical Illuminees.

IT was by no means the deputies of an inſignificant ſociety that were flocking from all parts of the univerſe to Willemſbaden. At that period, many maſons conceived their numbers to amount to *three millions* of brethren; and the *Lodge de la Candeur* at Paris, in its *Circular Letter of the 31ſt May*, 1782, ſuppoſes that France alone contained *one million*. Doctor Stark (one of the moſt learned writers of the Order) in his work on the ancient and modern myſteries, poſitively ſays, that at the loweſt computation *the number of maſons at that time muſt have amounted to one million.** Let the hiſtorian abide by this eſtimate, let him be ever ſo partial, yet at the ſight of theſe deputies ſent by a *Secret Society* compoſed of at leaſt a million of adepts, all flocking to their myſterious congreſs, what ſerious reflections muſt ariſe, and how important the conſideration both to nations and their rulers!

What inconceivable motive is it then that draws forth theſe agents and deputies from all parts of the globe, from Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, agents of men all bound by the oath of ſecrecy, both as to the nature of their aſſociation and the object of their myſteries? What intentions can actuate, what plans are brought by theſe deputies of ſo formidable an aſſociation ſecretly ſpreading its ramifications around us, throughout town and country, creeping into our habitations, and encompaſſing empires? What do they meditate, what are they going to combine either for or againſt nations? If they thus convene for the general good of humanity, and the welfare of nations, whence do they derive their right of deliberating on our religion, morals, or governments? Who has entruſted them with our intereſts? Who has ſubject-

* Chap. 15.

ed the world to their decrees and their pretended wiſdom? Who has told them that we wiſh to act, to think, or to be governed according to their deciſions and ſubterraneous machinations; or in their language according to their *induſtrious and ſecret influence.*

Should their plans be conſpiracies, ariſing in a wiſh to change the nature of our worſhip and of our laws, inſidious Brethren, perfidious citizens, by what right do you pretend to live among us as children of the ſame ſociety, or ſubject to the ſame magiſtrates?

But ſhould it neither be for nor againſt nations, ſhould their only object be to draw more cloſe the bonds of their fraternity, to propagate their benevolence, and their general love of mankind, then will I anſwer, Amuſe the populace with ſuch bubbles, *ad Populum Phaleras!* What! you that live on the banks of the Thames or of the Tagus, in the plains watered by the Tiber or Viſtula, are you to emigrate to the Rhine or to the Elbe, there in the dark abodes of Maſonry to coaleſce and deliberate with men whom you have never before ſeen nor will ever meet again? There is great occaſion for you to go there to learn how to love and ſuccor thoſe with whom you daily cohabit! The Engliſhman, the Ruſſian, or the American, is to go and bury himſelf in a German Lodge to learn how to be charitable at home!—The voice of nature and of the Goſpel then is only to be heard within the ſecret receſſes of Maſonry? Or are we to be told, that men have braved the dangers of the Ocean and croſſed whole empires to aſſiſt at a fraternal banquet, there to drink a toaſt given in a *zig-zag* or a *ſquare*; or perhaps to chant ſome hymns ſacred to innocent Equality; and that for theſe harmleſs amuſements they ſhould have choſen a den only worthy of the deepeſt conſpirators! Let them find other pretences, or not wonder of being ſuſpected of conſpiring. Such language every citizen, every magiſtrate, every ſovereign, was entitled to hold to theſe deputies flocking to Willemſbaden. Happy would it have been for Maſonry had ſuch language been held; for it might have ſaved the Brethren the eternal ſhame of having become the vile inſtruments and accomplices of Weiſhaupt.

Had any religious body, had even the Biſhops of the church, held a general meeting, the civil power, without doubt, would have uſed its right of ſending its commiſſa-

ries to such a meeting, and they would have been instructed to watch, lest under pretence of debating on ecclesiastical affairs, the right of the state should be infringed.—But all governments permitted the masons peaceably to proceed to the congress of Willemsbaden. The brethren even had passports from the civil powers. For more than six months did these deputies deliberate in their immense Lodge, without any sovereign harboring the least suspicion as to his own safety, or that of his people. They all relied on those princes who were themselves initiated in the mysteries of Masonry; they were in all probability ignorant that *Brethren of that rank are but partially admitted to the secrets of the Sect*; nor were they aware, that great names are only cloaks under which secret societies often conspire against their very protectors. They had not conceived, that the *only means of escaping* the vengeance of such societies was TO TOLERATE NONE, not even those that are known to be innocent; for the conspirator, ever watchful, can have no more favorable opportunity of assuming the garb of innocence, than in these secret recesses, where sooner or later he will find means of involving the undesigning members in his criminal plots.

General state of Freemasonry when the Meeting at Willemsbaden took place.

Sovereigns were equally ignorant of the state in which Masonry was at the time of the too famous meeting of Willemsbaden; had they but known it, the utmost severity might have become a duty on them. To judge by the writings of the Sect, it never had been less disposed to a reform, which some it would seem wished to promote, and which Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, a Scotch Baronet, had attempted to bring about forty years before; nor is it clear that the reform he had attempted was favorable to religion. In order to unite the efforts of the Brethren towards some useful object, he had conceived the plan of an Encyclopædia, which was to have been executed by all the learned Masons of the world.* If the posthumous works attributed to Ramsay are really his (such as *The Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion and of Revelation*, printed under his name in 1749, six years after his death) I could not venture to say, that he had not forgotten the greater part of those lessons which he had received from Fenelon, or that the Masonic En-

* See Der auf gezogene vorhang der Frey Maurery, P. 302.

cyclopædia would have been a better work than that executed by the Sophiſters D'Alembert and Diderot; neither would I vouch that any reform was intended at that time in the ancient myſteries of the Lodges, other than the introduction of many antichriſtian errors, together with thoſe of the Metempſichoſis. But, whatever may have been the reform projected by Ramſay, every thing denoted that that which the Brethren were about to accompliſh at Wilhemſbaden would be no other than the conſummation of the myſteries or plots of the Roſicrucians, *(See Note at the end of the Chapter)*. In reality, theſe myſteries as well as thoſe of the Scotch Knights had only been new modelled, the better to meet the wiſhes of the Sophiſters, and of the Impoſtors of the age. In France alone, under the ſucceſſive protection of the Princes of Clermont, of Conti, and of the Duke of Orleans, all Grand Maſters of the Order, the *Clermontois Brethren*, the *African Brethren*, the *Knights of the Eagle*, the *Adept*, the *Sublime Philoſopher*, were ſo many national inventions added to Maſonry; and all theſe degrees were ſteps towards our Revolution. In Germany we ſee *Roſa* combining all theſe French inventions with the ancient Scotch myſteries; the Baron *Hund* and *Shubard* ſubdividing Maſonry into the *Strict Obſervance* and the *Lax Obſervance*. Under the name of *Templar Maſons*, it daily beheld new degrees invented, more and more threatening to Kings and Pontiffs, who had ſuppreſſed the Templars. There alſo appeared the Phyſician *Zinnendorf*, and with him were introduced the modern *Roſicrucians* from Sweden, and their new myſteries of the *Cabal*, while the impoſtor *Jaeger* was propagating his at Ratisbon.

There was not one of theſe new maſonic Sects that did not revive ſome ancient ſyſtem of impiety or rebellion. But the worſt of the whole clan was a ſort of *Illuminees* calling themſelves *Theoſophs*, whom I find continually confounded by ſome people with thoſe of Weiſhaupt.—They are certainly no better; but they are a different Sect. The neceſſity under which I lie to diſtinguiſh them, leſt the hiſtorian ſhould be miſled, obliges me to trace them to their origin, and to give a ſhort account of their myſteries.

All the *Theoſophical Illuminces* of this age in England, France, Sweden, or Germany, have drawn their princi- The Theoſo-

phical Illuminees, or Swedenborgian Masons.

ples from the *Baron Emmanuel Swedenborg*. This name, to be sure, does not seem to denote the founder of a Sect. Swedenborg became one, perhaps, without dreaming of any such thing, and through one of those extraordinary incidents which Providence in an age of impiety permits to humble the pride of our Sophisters. He was son of the Lutheran Bishop of Skara, and was born at Upsal in 1688. After having passed the greater part of his life in the most incongruous pursuits, as a Poet, a Philosopher, a Metaphysician, a Mineralogist, a Sailor, a Divine, and an Astronomer, he was attacked by one of those violent fevers which leave the organs of the human frame in a very deranged state.* His meditations or rather reveries, took the form of those speculations to which he had formerly been addicted, on the Infinite, the Creation, the Spirit, Matter, God, and Nature. All on a sudden he thought himself inspired, and sent by God to reveal new truths. The following is the account he gives of his apostleship.

"I was one day dining very late at my hotel in London, and I ate with great appetite, when at the end of "my repast I perceived a sort of fog which obstructed my "view, and my floor was covered with hideous reptiles. "They disappeared, the darkness was dispersed, and I "plainly saw, in the midst of a bright light, a man sitting "in the corner of my room, who said in a terrible voice, "*Do not eat so much.* At these words my sight was be-"dimmed; but I regained it little by little, and then "found that I was alone. The next night, the same man, "resplendent with light, stood before me, and said: *I am* "*the Lord, Creator, and Redeemer; I have chosen you* "*to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of* "*the sacred Scriptures. I will dictate what you shall* "*write.* This time I was not affrighted; and the light, "though very vivid, did not affect my sight. The Lord "was clothed in purple, and the vision continued for a "quarter of an hour. This very night the eyes of my "*interior* were opened and enabled to see into heaven, "into the world of spirits, into hell, in which places I

* I do not see that any of his adepts have mentioned this illness; but indeed I am not surprized at it. I quote it on the authority of a Physician, who learned it from several other Physicians of London.

" found many of my acquaintances, some who had been " long since dead, others only a short time."*

This vision would appear more worthy of a man to whom one might say in a less terrible voice, *Do not eat so much*, but rather, indeed, *Do not drink so much*. Swedenborg declares it to have been in the year 1745. He lived till 1772, perpetually writing new volumes of his revelations, travelling every year from England to Sweden, and daily from earth to heaven or to hell. It requires exceeding great patience to wade through all these works; and when one has studied them, it is difficult to form an idea of their author. In this Theosophical Illuminee some will behold a man in a constant delirium; others will trace the Sophister and Infidel; while others again will take him for an impostor and hypocrite. Is it the madman, the visionary madman in the regions of Folly, that is sought? Let the reader follow him in his frequent journies to the world of spirits, or let him have the patience to hear him tell what he has seen. On one side he shews us a paradise perfectly corresponding with the earth, and the angels doing every thing in the other world that men do in this. On the other, he describes heaven and its plains, its forests, its rivers, its towns, and its provinces; he then proceeds to the schools for infant angels; to the universities for the learned angels; to fairs for the commercial angels, and particularly for the English and Dutch angels. The spirits are male and female; they marry, and Swedenborg was present at a marriage. This marriage is celestial; " but," says he, " we are not to infer " that the celestial couples are unacquainted with voluptuousness. . . . The propensity to unite, imprinted " by the Creator, exists in the *spiritual bodies*, as it does " in the material bodies. The angels of both sexes are " always in the most perfect state of beauty, youth, and " vigor. They enjoy therefore the utmost voluptuousness " of conjugal love, and that to a much greater degree than " it is possible for mortals."†

From this delirium let us proceed to the impostor.—The whole life and writings of Swedenborg depose against him. To begin with his writings, it is always God or

* See the Preface to the Abridgement of Swedenborg's Works.

† Swedenborg on the celestial Jerusalem—of the spiritual world—of the English—of the Dutch, &c.—Art. Heaven.

an angel that ſpeaks. Every thing that he tells us he has ſeen in heaven himſelf, and he is at liberty to go there as often as he pleaſes. He has ſpirits at his command; and they reveal to him the moſt ſecret tranſactions. The Princeſs Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, ſends to conſult him why her brother the Prince of Pruſſia had died without anſwering a certain letter which ſhe had written to him. Swedenborg promiſes to conſult the deceaſed. The following day he returns, and addreſſes himſelf as follows to the Queen: "Your brother appeared to me laſt night, "and ordered me to inform you, that he had not anſwer-"ed your letter becauſe he diſapproved your conduct, be-"cauſe your imprudent politics and your ambition were "the cauſes of the effuſion of blood. I command you "therefore in his name to meddle no more in ſtate af-"fairs, and particularly not any more to excite troubles "to which you would ſooner or later fall the victim."—The Queen was aſtoniſhed; Swedenborg told her things that ſhe alone and the deceaſed could know; and the reputation of the prophet was much increaſed. For my readers to form their judgment, it will be ſufficient for them to know that the letter the Queen had written had been intercepted by two ſenators, who profited of this occaſion to give her the above leſſon through the medium of Swedenborg.*

Take another trait of the Impoſtor:—The Counteſs of Mansfield is afraid of having to pay a ſum of money a ſecond time, the receipt being miſlaid at her huſband's death. She conſults Swedenborg, and in the name of the deceaſed he comes to acquaint her where the receipt was to be found: He could very eaſily give the information

* See Mr. Rollig's letter in the *Monat Shrifft* of Berlin, January, 1788. When the diſciples of Swedenborg ſaw Mr. Rollig's letter appear, they gave a new turn to the ſtory. It was no longer the Queen queſtioning Swedenborg about the letter; ſhe ſimply aſked, *Whether he had ſeen her brother?* Swedenborg is ſaid at the end of a week to return to the Queen, and tell her things that ſhe believed herſelf to be alone converſant with, after the deceaſe of the Prince. This contrivance gives a whole week in place of a day to prepare the trick. I now learn a third; according to De Mainauduc, the letter was ſcarcely written when Swedenborg, without even ſeeing it, divines the object and dictates the anſwer before hand. When this ſcheme is exploded, it is to be hoped that the brethren will invent another.

to be ſure, for he had found the receipt in a book which had been returned him by the Count. It was the Queen Ulrica who gave this natural explanation of the fact; yet ſhe is nevertheleſs quoted by the diſciples as an authority to prove the miracle.* Certainly we have ſhown enough of the impoſtor; but the important perſon for our conſideration is the Illuminizing law-giver, the Sophiſter of Impiety; and Swedenborg's character partakes much more of this than is generally ſuppoſed. His manner would lead us to think that his hypocriſy was not inferior to his impiety. Never did any man ſpeak more of the love of God and of the love of his neighbor; never did any perſon more frequently quote the Prophets and the Scriptures; or affect more reſpect for Chriſt and more zeal for Chriſtianity; never did any one better aſſume the character and tone of a ſincere, religious, and upright man: Nevertheleſs, I muſt ſay, never did any man ſhow more duplicity and impiety; never did any one conceal the moſt reſolute deſign of annihilating Chriſtianity and every Religion, under the maſk of zeal, more completely than he did. Let all his followers proteſt againſt this aſſertion; to expoſe the *two ſyſtems* of their maſter will amply ſuffice to juſtify the imputation. I ſay *two ſyſtems*, becauſe as Swedenborg always had *two ſenſes*, the one *internal* and *allegorical*, the other *external* or *literal*, to explain and overthrow the Scriptures; ſo he has alſo *two ſyſtems*, the one apparent for fools and dupes; the other ſecret and hidden, and reſerved for the adepts; the one tending only in appearance to reform Chriſtianity on the reveries of Deiſm; the other leading to all the Impiety of Atheiſm, Spinoſiſm, Fanaticiſm, and Materialiſm.

I lament with my readers, that ſuch is the nature of our revolutions, that to know and unfold their cauſes it is neceſſary to ſtudy manifold Sects, and wade through diſguſting ſyſtems. Few people are aware of the multitude of Antichriſtian, impious, and tenebrous factions that had overrun the earth to prepare the advent of our diſaſters. I myſelf for a long time deſpiſed theſe *Theoſophical Illuminees*. But I found them at Wilhemſbaden; and the part they acted at firſt in concurrence with Weiſhaupt,

* Preface to the Abridgment of Swedenborg's Works—the Edition of them by Pernetti—Eſſay on the Illuminees written by Mirabeau, Note 8.

and afterward in union with him, obliged me to investigate their Sect; and my reader must have a short and precise idea of each of their two systems. The first, which I call *apparent*, is compiled for men who still wish to preserve the words God, Religion, Spirit, Heaven, and Hell; but who, swerving from Christianity, are abandoned by the Almighty to all the absurdities and follies of *Anthropomorphism*. For such persons Swedenborg has invented *two worlds*, the one *invisible and spiritual*, the other *visible and natural*. Each of these worlds has the *form of a man*; together they compound the universe, which has also the *form of a man*.

Swedenborg's apparent system.

on worlds.

The spiritual world comprehends *Heaven*; *the World of Spirits*, *and Hell*. This Heaven, World of Spirits, and Hell, are formed *to the Image of Man*, that is to say of God himself.

on God.

For God is also man; *indeed it is only the Lord* or God, *that can be properly called man*.—This God man is *uncreated*, *infinite*, *present every where by his humanity*—Though God and Man at the same time, he is but of one nature, one essence, and particularly *but one in person*.—It is true, there is a God the Father, a God the Son, and a God the Holy Ghost, but Jesus Christ alone is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as he manifests himself by the creation, redemption, or sanctification; and *the Trinity of persons in God*, according to Swedenborg, *is an impiety which has produced many others*.

This doctrine against the Trinity is one of those articles to which the Sophister and his disciples most frequently advert, and particularly insist upon, even in their Catechisms for children.

on Man.

Though we are to believe the existence of but one nature and of one person in this *God-Man*, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, yet in each man we are to conceive two distinct men; the one *spiritual* and *interior*, the other *exterior* and *natural*. The *Man-spirit or interior*, has a *heart*, *lungs*, *feet* and *hands*, and all the different parts of the human frame, which belong to the *visible* and *exterior* man.*

* Every thing that is said here of this system is extracted either from the Works of Swedenborg, which I have in my possession, such as his *Doctrine of the New Jerusalem*, *his Spi-*

There are also three distinct things in every man, *the body, the soul, and the spirit.* We are all acquainted with the body, and Swedenborg makes no change in it; but his *spirit* is that *interior man*, who has *a heart, lungs, and a spiritual body* entirely modelled on the natural body. But the *soul*, that is the man himself, *children receive from their father; the body is the envelope and is of the mother.*

Notwithstanding this body, this spirit, and this soul, *every thing that man thinks or that he wills is infused into him through the influence of Heaven or of Hell.* "He imagines that his thoughts are actually his own, and his volition in himself and from himself, while nevertheless the whole is infused into him. If he believed the real fact, he would not then appropriate evil actions to himself, for he would reject them from himself to Hell, whence they come. Neither would he appropriate to himself good actions, and for that reason would pretend to no merit from them. He would be happy; he would see according to the Lord, the Good and the Evil;"* or, in other words, he will find that he is master neither of his thoughts nor actions; that he is deprived of free-agency, and that he can neither merit nor demerit.

This poor being who so grossly mistakes himself when he believes himself to be thinking or acting of himself, has also fallen into a multitude of other religious errors, because he does not rightly understand the sacred scriptures. In the Books of Revelation every thing is *allegorical*, every thing has two senses, the one *celestial, spiritual, interior*; the other, *natural, exterior, literal.* It is from not having understood the spiritual and celestial sense that Christians have believed in the Son of God made Man, and in his death on the Cross for the Redemption of mankind. Swedenborg, one day present in Heaven at a great council, heard and repeats these words of an angel, who was a great divine: "How is it possible that the Christian world can abjure sound reason, and rave to such a degree as to establish the fundamental

ritual World, his Apocalypse Revealed; or from divers abridgments of his Works in French and English, made by his disciples.

* Extract from the New Jerusalem and from the Arcana, *Art.* INFLUENCE, No. 277.

" principles of their belief on paradoxes of such a nature, " which evidently militate against the divine essence, the " divine love, the divine wisdom, the omnipotence, and " the univeral presence of God? What he is supposed " to have done, a good master would not have done against " his servants, nor even a wild beast against its young!"* The same angel told him many other things, which overturn all the remaining articles of the Christian belief.—One point in particular he asserts, which must give pleasure to the wicked, when he teaches them to scoff at Hell, particularly when he says, *that it is contrary to the divine essence to deprive a single man of his mercy; that the whole of those doctrines are contrary to the divine nature, which the Christian world does not seem to be aware of.*†

Another part of the doctrine which must be also very acceptable to the wicked, is the state with which Swedenborg flatters them in the other world, and the time he gives them after death to gain Heaven. According to his new Gospel, the instant that man believes to be that of his death, is the moment of his resurrection; and no other resurrection is allowed of. At that very instant *he appears in the spiritual world under the human form*, exactly as if he was in this world; under *this form* he becomes an angel, and no other angels exist but those who become so at their departure from this world. All these angels inhabit the world of spirits, and are received there by other angels, who instruct them in the *spiritual sense* of the Scriptures. They are allowed till the age of thirty to learn this *sense*, and to repent in the world of spirits.—But lest we should revert to the delirious Illuminee, let us hasten to that part of his doctrines which constitutes the grand hopes of his disciples on earth. After having expounded all the mysteries of Christianity according to his spiritual and allegorical sense, that is to say, after having substituted his doctrines to those of the Gospel, Swedenborg informs them, that the day willcome when the whole of his doctrine shall be received in this world.—

His New Jerusalem.

This happy day will be that on which the *New Jerusalem* shall be re-established on earth. This New Jerusalem will be the reign of the new church, of Jesus Christ

* See Abridgment of Swedenborg, *Art.* REDEMPTION.
† Ibid.

reigning alone over the earth, as he formerly did over our forefathers before the deluge. It will be the golden age of true Chriſtianity; and then the revolution foretold by Swedenborg will be accompliſhed with his prophecies.

Such is that which I have denominated the *apparent ſyſtem* of the Baron de Swedenborg. My readers may eaſily obſerve, that ſuch tools in the hands of the adepts muſt ſuffice to eradicate true Chriſtianity from the minds of their dupes, and to make their New Jeruſalem a plea for thoſe revolutions which, in order to recall ancient times, are, in the name of God and of his prophet, to overthrow all the altars and thrones exiſting under the preſent Jeruſalem, that is to ſay, under the preſent churches and governments.

From the midſt of this chaos of delirium, and theſe prophecies of rebellion, let us bring forth that other ſyſtem, which appears to have been reſerved to the profound adepts. It is that of Materialiſm and of the pureſt Atheiſm. This ſyſtem is occult in Swedenborg's works, but it is wholly contained in them. Here we ſhould no longer have to deal with the prophet in delirium, but with the moſt artful Sophiſter, were I not aware that ſuch hypocriſy is not entirely incompatible with a diſordered mind. I will explain: it ſometimes happens, that the minds of men will rave on certain queſtions, though perfectly ſenſible and reaſonable on others. There are alſo madmen who will conſtantly purſue their object; their principles may be extravagant, but they never loſe ſight of their conſequences. They will even reaſon on them, and combine them with all the art of the moſt ſubtle Sophiſter.—I think it is in this claſs that Swedenborg is to be ranked; I believe it, becauſe not only his writings, but many circumſtances in his life, ſerve to confirm the conjecture. For example: at Stockholm, after having made a general officer (who came to pay him a viſit from Mr. Euler, the Prince of Orange's librarian) wait in his antichamber for a conſiderable time, he at length came to him and made his excuſes, by ſaying, Indeed, General, juſt at that moment St. Peter and St. Paul were with me; and you eaſily apprehend, that when one receives ſuch viſitors one is in no hurry to diſmiſs them.—My readers muſt as eaſily conceive the opinion the General formed of the Baron, and the account he gave of him to Euler.

His hidden ſyſtem.

At another time, on a journey from Stockholm to Berlin, one of his companions, awakened by a noiſe which Swedendorg was making, and thinking he was ill, went into his room. He there found him in bed, faſt aſleep, very much agitated, and in agreat heat, repeating in a loud voice the queſtions and anſwers of a converſation which he dreamt he was holding with the Virgin Mary. The next day his fellow-traveller aſked the Baron how he had ſlept the night before; he anſwered, "I had yeſterday "aſked a favor of the Virgin Mary in the moſt preſſing "manner; ſhe paid me a viſit this night, and I had a long "converſation with her."

The firſt of theſe facts will be vouched for by Mr. Euler; and with reſpect to the ſecond I think it is as well founded.

We will now ſhow how theſe anecdotes are blended with the hiſtory of a Sect that has powerfully contributed towards our Revolution.

Swedenborg, anterior to the derangement of his mind, had formed a ſyſtem leading to Materialiſm; and this continued deeply rooted in his mind after his illneſs. He then added his male and female ſpirits, and ſome extravagances of the ſame nature. With reſpect to the remainder of his ſyſtem, he follows up his principles in a conſequent manner, and unfortunately the whole tends to Materialiſm. Sophiſters and infidels, no doubt, ſoon perceived that they could make a tool of this unfortunate man; they ſet him up as a Prophet, and his reveries were oppoſed to the truths of Chriſtianity. Let us for a moment attend to his moſt zealous and artful apoſtles. It is thus that they ſpeak of his firſt works, in order to captivate the reader's mind in favor of his ſubſequent writings. "According to the diſcoveries made by the Baron "de Swedenborg, every human body conſiſts of ſeveral "orders, of forms diſtinct among themſelves, according to "the apparent degree of purity reſpectively belonging to "each; that is to ſay, in the inferior degree is to be found "the baſis or receptacle of the ſecond degree, which is "more pure and more *interior* than the firſt. In the "ſame manner, the ſecond ſerves as the baſis or receptacle for the third, which is more elevated, and is the "pureſt and moſt *interior* of the three. It is in the latter "that reſides *the human ſpirits, which is an organized "form* ANIMA, *correſponding with the corporal ſpirit*

« ANIMUS, and vivifying it, while it derives its own life « directly from the ſpiritual world."*

After having ſeen this famous diſcovery of the maſter, and on which the diſciples lay ſo much ſtreſs, let us inquire what are the true ſignifications of, or real expreſſions appropriate to this *human ſpirit* or *organized form*, which Swedenborg calls the *ſoul*; or to this *corporal ſpirit* denominated *animus*. This *ſoul* and this *ſpirit* will be found to be no other than organized matter, one of thoſe *bodies* which is called the *germ*, and which are as much matter, both in the animal or vegetable reign, as the body, the branch, or the fruits they produce. It is eaſy then to conceive what Swedenborg means by *form* or *ſoul*, or by that *ſpirit* which has lungs, feet, and all the different parts of the human body. The ſoul is *organized matter*, and the ſpirit is *living matter*. Terms may be changed, but in fact nothing is to be found but matter, and a monſter of hypocriſy, who, after the example of the ſoul, will reduce his God to matter alſo. To prove this aſſertion, let the following propoſition be noticed—*God is life, becauſe God is love—Love is his eſſence, wiſdom his exiſtence—The heat of the ſpiritual Sun is love, its light is wiſdom.*† What a deal of twiſting and turning to ſay, that God is no more than the heat and light of a *Sun* ſuppoſed to be *ſpiritual*; for if God is *love and wiſdom*, and that this *love and wiſdom* are only the *heat and light* of this Sun, is it not evident that God is nothing more than the heat and light of that Sun. When, therefore, the reader ſhall, in Swedenborg's works, meet with expreſſions ſuch as theſe, *God is life, becauſe God is love, and he alone is life*, he will naturally ſubſtitute *God is life becauſe he is heat*; *he alone is life becauſe life is only ſupported by heat*; and he will have Swedenborg's real meaning. This might ſtill leave ſome idea of a ſpirituality, if this Sun, whoſe light and heat are God, was really ſpiritual; but for the ſolution of this queſtion let us again appeal to Swedenborg, and we ſhall find that the *ſpiritual ſun* is nothing more than *atmoſpheres, receptacles of fire and of light, the extremity of which produces the natural*

* Dialogues on the nature, the object, and evidence of Swedenborg's theological writings, London 1790, page 24 and 25. ——Alſo the Animal Reign, and the Economy of the Animal Reign, by Swedenborg.

† See the Abridgment of Swedenborg, *Art.* GOD.

ſun. This alſo has its *atmoſpheres, which have produced by three degrees material ſubſtances.—Theſe ſame atmoſpheres of* the natural ſun, *decreaſing in activity and in expanſion, ultimately form maſſes whoſe parts are brought together by the preſſion of weighty ſubſtances that are fixed and at reſt, and which we call matter.** In clearer and more intelligible language, here will be the Deity and its generations according to Swedenborg. In the firſt place, a Sun, ſuppoſed ſpiritual, forms itſelf in the higher regions of the moſt ardent and luminous fire: the heat and light of this fire is God. This God, in this ſtate, as well as this Sun, is nothing more than matter in a ſtate of expanſion, agitation, fire, and incandeſcence. As long as matter remains in theſe burning regions, Swedenborg does not chuſe to call it matter, but the *ſpiritual ſun.*—Particles leſs ſubtle, or not ſo much heated, are carried to the extremity of theſe regions. There they cluſter together, and the *natural ſun* is formed. They are not matter as yet; but the groſſer particles of this ſecond ſun unite together at the extremity of its atmoſpheres; there they clump together, cool, thicken, and form heavy maſſes, and at length acquire the appellation of matter. Theſe particles are no longer God, or the ſpiritual ſun, becauſe they are no longer in a ſtate of fire. What then is this God of Swedenborg, if it is not fire, or all matter in a ſtate of fire, ceaſing only to be God, when it ceaſes to be burning and luminous? And what abominable hypocriſy is this, where, under the cloak of thus changing the terms, the moſt downright materialiſm is preached?

Let my reader form what opinion he pleaſes as to the man who has broached ſuch impious abſurdities; he muſt never forget that there exiſt men always ready to adopt the moſt extravagant errors. Some becauſe they are unable to diſtinguiſh a ſophiſm, others again becauſe their impiety leads them to rejoice at every new blaſphemy.—Swedenborg has met with diſciples of both theſe deſcriptions; and hence aroſe two diſtinct Sects, the one public, the other occult. The firſt comprehends thoſe men ſo eaſily impoſed upon by hypocriſy, and by their own credulity; they had called themſelves Chriſtians and adored Jeſus Chriſt; but when Swedenborg had called his God *heat and light*; or his *ſpiritual ſun* by the name of

* Ibid. *Art.* CREATION.

Jeſus Chriſt, they ſtill continued to think themſelves the followers of Chriſt, though they were only the Spectators of Swedenborg's reveries. He evidently is the declared enemy of the principal myſteries of revelation, particularly of the Trinity, and of the Redemption of mankind by the Son of God dying on a croſs for the ſalvation of ſinners; he nevertheleſs talks a great deal about revelation; he aſſumes a devout tone, and with his *allegorical* and *ſpiritual ſenſe* would appear rather to reform than to deſtroy all; and his followers do not perceive that with his allegorical ſenſe he is only repeating the arguments of the Sophiſters againſt revealed religion, in order to renew all the follies and impieties of the Perſians, Magi, and Materialiſts.* They tell theſe poor people of his miraculous viſions, of his prophecies, and of his diſcourſing with the angels and ſpirits; they are ignorant of the firſt principles of criticiſm, and believe in all theſe marvellous ſtories of Swedenborg, juſt as children do in the hiſtory of Raw-head-and-bloody-bones told them by an old nurſe.

The *new Jeruſalem* in particular has gained over many proſelytes to Swedenborg. I obſerve in one of the moſt famous abridgments of his works, that ſo early as the year 1788, *the ſingle town of Mancheſter contained* SEVEN THOUSAND *of theſe illuminized Jeruſalemites, and that there were about* TWENTY THOUSAND *in England.*† Manyof theſe beatified beings may be very well intentioned; but with this new Jeruſalem they daily expect that great revolution which is to ſweep from the earth every prince and every king, that the God of Swedenborg may reign uncontroled over the whole globe.‡ And that revolution, which they ſaw burſting forth in France, was nothing more in their eyes than the fire that was to puriſy the earth to prepare the way for their Jeruſalem.

* Some readers, I know, will be ſurpriſed to ſee me charge with materialiſm a man who talks ſo much of the ſpirit, ſoul, God, and religion. But I muſt requeſt them to weigh the proofs adduced before they decide againſt me. Had I been writing another ſort of work I might have prolonged the diſcuſſion; but I think I have ſaid ſufficient to prove, that Swedenborg never acknowledged any other ſpirit but matter, or the elementary fire.

† Ibid. Preface to a note, Page lxviii.

‡ See his Apocalypſe Revealed.

Should they ſtill remain in the dark as to the menacing tendency of ſuch doctrines for every ſtate, let them learn it from the revolutionary Sophiſters. They have publicly declared the hopes they have conceived of thoſe *Sects that are ſpringing up on all ſides, particularly in the north of Europe* (Sweden) *and in America.* They even in plain terms expreſs their expectations grounded on the *great number of Swedenborg's ſectators and commentators.**

And indeed if we do but caſt our eyes on thoſe that are moſt admired by the Sect, we ſhall find all the grand principles of the revolutionary Equality and Liberty, and thoſe Jacobinical declamations againſt the Great, the Noble, and the Rich, and againſt all governments. We ſhall find, for example, that their *Religion*, or their new Jeruſalem, *cannot be welcomed by the Great, becauſe the Great are born tranſgreſſors of its firſt precept.* Neither can it be approved by the Nobles, becauſe *when mortals aſpired at nobility, they became proud and wicked.* Still leſs can it be admired by thoſe who do not delight in the confuſion of ranks, becauſe *the pride of ranks produced inhumanity and even ferocity*; and even long before the revolution we ſhall ſee the adepts inculcating that grand principle of anarchy and revolution, that *the law is the expreſſion of the general will*, and thus preparing the people to diſregard every law that had been made heretofore, either by their ſovereigns, their parliaments, or their ſenates; encouraging them to ſound the alarm, to overthrow them all, and to ſubſtitute the decrees and capricious conceits of the populace in their ſtead.

But all this revolutionary concatenation as yet only characteriſes *the dupes* of the Sect of Illuminizing Jeruſalemites. The profound adepts had taken refuge in the dens of the *Roſicrucian maſonry.* Thoſe were their natural aſylums, the greater part of the tenets perfectly coinciding with thoſe of the ancient Roſicrucians. After the example of their Doctors, Swedenborg tells us, that his doctrines are all of the higheſt antiquity, and ſimilar to thoſe of the Egyptians, the Magi, and the Greeks; he even aſſerts them to be anterior to the deluge. His new Jeruſalem has alſo its JEHOVAH, its *loſt word*, that has

* Preface to the *Phyſical Obſervations*, anno 1790, by La Metherie.

been at length revealed to Swedenborg. Should any perſon be tempted to ſeek it elſewhere, he muſt go in queſt of it among thoſe clans where Chriſtianity and political laws are not known.* Swedenborg tells us, that it might be found in the north of China, and in Great Tartary, that is to ſay among that ſpecies of men who have preſerved the moſt of that Equality, Liberty, and Independence, which the *learned* Jacobins pretend to have been anterior to civil ſociety, and which moſt certainly is incompatible with it. Here then it appears, that Swedenborg's views coincide with thoſe of the occult lodges, aiming at the overthrow of every religious and civil law, and at the downfall of every throne. His God *heat* and *light*, his God fire and ſpiritual ſun, his twofold world and twofold man, are only modifications of the God light and the twofold principle of Manes. The Roſicrucians muſt then have found in Swedenborg's ſyſtems what they ſo much admired in the Manichæans. Their Magic, Evocations, *Eons*, Cabal, &c, were to be traced in the male and female ſpirits. In ſhort, what numberleſs adepts muſt not this *new Jeruſalem*, or revolution, carrying man back to primitive Equality and Liberty, have found in the occult Lodges? It was there indeed that Swedenborg's myſteries become connected with thoſe of the ancient Brethren. Theſe new or compound adepts ſtyled themſelves *Illuminees*. Notwithſtanding the Atheiſm and Materialiſm of their maſter, they, after his example, perpetually talked of God and of ſpirits; they even affected to ſpeak much of God, and people were perſuaded that they believed in a Deity; hence they received the denomination of *Theoſophical Illuminees*. Like the writings of their founder, their hiſtory is a mere labyrinth of impiety and impoſture. It will ſuffice for our readers, at

* Swedenborg's expreſſions are, De hoc *verbo* vetuſto quod ante verbum Iſraeliticum in Aſia fuerat, referre meretur hoc novum; quod ibi adhuc reſervatum ſit, apud populos qui in Magna Tartaria habitant. Locutus ſum cum ſpiritibus et angelis qui in mundo ſpirituali inde erant, qui dixerunt quod poſſideant verbum, et quod id ab antiquis temporibus poſſederint—Quærite de eo in Chinâ et forte invenietis illud apud Tartaros. (*Apocalipſis Revelata, Chap.* 1. *No.* 11.) Is not this a continuation of that ſame plan, always holding out nations plunged in the moſt ſavage ignorance, and a perpetual prey to anarchy, Equality and Liberty, as the models to which we ought to look up?

this period, to know that their head-quarters was at Avignon;* that they had a famous lodge at Lyons; that they were ſpreading chiefly in Sweden, and were making progreſs in Germany. Their myſteries at that time had mingled with thoſe of the Martiniſts; or it might be more correct to ſay, that the Martiniſts were only a reform of the Swedenborgians; and in France the appellations of Illuminee and Martiniſt were ſynonymous. In Germany they began to diſtinguiſh themſelves under the names of *Peilaletes* and *Benevolent Knights*. But whatever may have been their aſſumed names, they moſt certainly of all the modern Maſons were the neareſt of kin to Weiſhaupt. Syſtems and means may have differed ſufficiently to excite jealouſies; but on both ſides we find the ſame determined wiſh for a revolution as antiſocial as it was anti-religious. They were equally ardent in their deſire of multiplying their adepts, by a general intruſion into the Maſonic Lodges. Both Sects had their deputies at Willemſbaden, and I will deſcribe their mutual conteſts and ſucceſſes in the following Chapter.

* In a work under the title of *The Red Lodge diſcovered to Sovereigns*, I read, that "the Rite of the Theoſophical Illumi-" nees appears to have taken its origin at Edinburgh, where " *the Red Lodge* was formed by a ſciſſion from the *Blue Lodge*; " that this Red Lodge (of the Theoſophical Illuminees had " immediately eſtabliſhed a ſubordinate Lodge at Avignon." *(Page 9 and 10.)*—I ſhould have been very glad to have found proof of this origin, as at preſent it reſts on the bare aſſertion of the author. Be that as it may, however, the Illuminees of Avignon are ſufficiently well known in France. Ever ſince the year 1783, that Lodge has been looked upon as the parent ſtock of all thoſe that have ſince ſpread over France with their abominable myſteries.

And here I think it right to ſay, that this *Red Lodge diſcovered to Sovereigns* is by no means the work that I mentioned in my ſecond volume under the title of *Depoſitions made by Kleiner*. The extracts made from this latter work, and which are in my poſſeſſion, give me reaſon to think, that it contains details of a very different nature. The author there ſpeaks as an eye-witneſs; and, among other things, gives the tradition current in his Lodge, and with reſpect to the leſſons that Weiſhaupt is ſuppoſed to have received from a certain Kölmer.—Theſe depoſitions would be a valuable document; and it is, perhaps, on that very account that the Illuminees have deſtroyed it. At leaſt I am obliged to ſay, that, notwithſtanding the numerous inquiries which I have made, I have not been able to procure it.

Note to CHAP. IV. *vide Page* 81.

I think it incumbent on me in this place to mention the obſervations which I have heard, and the ſtrictures that I have received from divers Maſons, on what has been ſaid of their degrees in the ſecond volume of theſe Memoirs. According to ſome of the Brethren, *I have ſaid a great deal too much;* according to others, *I have not ſaid enough.* The reader will eaſily conceive, that the former conſiſts of thoſe Brethren in whoſe favor an exception has been made, as too honeſt and upright to be admitted to the higher myſteries; and that the latter are men who, after having been admitted into the occult Lodges, bluſh to think that they could ever have deſerved ſuch an admiſſion. Both are entitled to my thanks; I alſo owe them an anſwer; more particularly thoſe German obſervers, who have been kind enough to ſend me ſome very important diſcuſſions on Maſonry, and whoſe learning can only be equalled by their politeneſs. They are perſons of too accurate underſtandings not to perceive that their negative teſtimony muſt naturally vaniſh before the poſitive evidence of thoſe who confeſs the whole. A very ancient Maſon, ſpeaking of a particular Lodge of which he had been a member, told me, "He was perfectly "aware, that ſeveral Maſons, reſpectable for the purity both "of their religious and political principles, and of their gene-"ral conduct, had often attended a certain Lodge; but that *he* "*alſo knew what precautions were taken when they were pre-*"*ſent;* and further he could aſſert, that the generality of the "Brethren belonging to that Lodge had been the moſt ardent "promoters of the Revolution. Some of them had held high "ſtations in it, and one of them had become miniſter." Theſe *precautions taken* are more than a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe who have not ſeen any thing improper, tho' admitted to the Lodges.

In the ſecond place, my German obſervers, though they wiſh to juſtify the inſtitution and views of Free-maſonry, candidly confeſs, *that Maſonry has been corrupted for more than theſe three hundred years paſt;* and this is more than ſufficient to prove the intrigues to which it has been ſubſervient.

The principal objection made by theſe gentlemen is, that I have confounded Free-maſonry, which has but three degrees, with the new and ancient Roſicrucians, and other degrees of modern creation. My anſwer is, that if ALL *Maſons* are not *Roſicrucians*, ALL *Roſicrucians* are *Maſons;* that I have made the proper exceptions for the firſt three degrees; but that will not hinder theſe firſt degrees from being, as they really have been for this long time, a noviciate for the Roſicrucian degrees. I will not diſpute upon terms; let any perſon give me a name by which I may call this body of *Apprentices, Fellow-crafts, Maſters, and Roſicrucians*, and I will with pleaſure admit it; but till that be done I muſt ſpeak ſuch a language as my readers can underſtand. In ſhort, I know that Maſonry formerly exiſted without Roſicrucians; but I ſhould be glad to

see it proved, that those occult mysteries now removed to the Rosicrucian degrees did not belong to the first three degrees. I think I could prove that they did; and the inference would be, that Masonry at no time could have been free from those dangerous mysteries or real plots. At present it suffices for my object, to have proved what the Masonry of the present day is; and that is most certainly demonstrated by the very nature and the authentic documents of its higher degrees. To the proofs already adduced I am now enabled to add (if I chose it) memorials, letters, and formal declarations of repenting Masons, certainly not men whose testimony could be questioned. One of these is a worthy magistrate, who, admitted a Free-mason about the year 1761, had passed a great part of his life in the dark recesses of Masonry. The other is a military man, at present as zealous for his religion as he formerly was for the mysteries of Masonry. The first declares, that what I have said of Masonry is true, but that I have not said *all*. The latter writes me word, that I have rather *softened* than exaggerated the occult degrees. In fact, the former gives me a clearer insight into the three *Rosicrucian* degrees; the first is entirely *Christian;* the second is denominated the *Founders*, or the *Cabal;* the third is that of the *Natural religion*. The particular object of this third degree was, 1st, to avenge the Templars; 2dly, to seize on the island of Malta, and to make it *the first seat of natural religion*. He told me indeed things scarcely to be credited. For example, and these are his words, "That about the "end of the year 1773, or in the course of 1774, the Lodge of "which he was Master received a letter from the *Grand Orient*, "purporting to be a copy of a letter which it had received "from the King of Prussia. It was only to be communicated "to the *Knights of Palestine, the Knights Kadosh*, and the "*Scotch Directory*. This letter was transmitted to us by the "*corresponding Lodge;* and though it had already been read "in several Lodges, it only contained three signatures. It exhorted us, *in order to fulfil the oath we had taken*, to sign an "obligation to march at the first requisition, and to contribute "both by our *persons and our moral and physical powers*, to the "conquest of the island of Malta, and of all the former possessions, situated in the two hemispheres, which had formerly "belonged to the *ancestors of the Masonic Order*. The object "*of our establishment at Malta was the possibility of converting* "*that island into the seat of natural religion*." I objected to the author of this memorial, that if I wrote this account nobody would believe me. Let people believe or not, as they please, he answered, I *both saw and received the letter;* my Lodge, however, refused to sign it:—I also say, let it be believed or not, I have the memorial and can attest, that the author is a man much and deservedly esteemed by all who know him.

The second Observer, who is also a repenting Mason, informs me, 1st, That in the hypothesis I had advanced on the origin of Masonry, I had only copied one of the Masonic Traditions, which taught that *Manes* was the real founder of Masonry. 2dly, That "in the Lodges of the Knights *Kadosh*, as-

"ter all the oaths, ceremonies, and trials, more or less terri-
"ble, wicked and impious, three Manikins are shown to the
"Candidate, representing *Clement* V. *Philippe Le Bel*, and
"the *Grand Master of Malta*, each attired in the attributes of
"their dignities. The unhappy fanatic is here to swear eternal
"hatred and death to these three proscribed persons, *entailing*
"*that hatred and death on their successors in their default.* He
"there strikes off the three heads, which, as in the degree of
"*Elect*, are real when they can be procured, or filled with
"blood if fictitious. He does this, crying out *vengeance, ven-*
"*geance!* &c." It is evident that I had softened the barbarity of this decree, for I had spoken but of one head to be struck off, when in reality there are three. I am not at liberty to name these two Memorialists; but two other witnesses I may name. —The first is the Count de Gilliers, who, living on intimate terms with great and profound Masons, had so well laughed them out of their secrets, that he gained admission into the Lodges without undergoing any trials; and he makes no difficulty in saying, that he has been an eye-witness to three-fourths of what I have said. The other, the Count D'Orfeuille, gives me leave to say, that though he was for a long time the Master of a Lodge, he can observe but very slight differences between the Rosicrucian degrees which he has given and seen given, and those which I have described.

I am at present in possession of twenty original Masonic degrees; and of four accounts of the *Rosicrucian* degrees, two in manuscript and two printed. The first was sent me from Germany, the second from America, the third was printed in France, and the fourth in England. They differ considerably from each other: but all of them coincide in about fifteen lines, precisely the most impious, those which contain the Masonic explanation of INRI. The account which I followed in my second volume was that published by the *Abbé Le Franc* in his *Voile Levé*, and his *Conjuration decouverte*. Several Masons had informed me, that he had accurately delineated the proceedings of the Lodges; but I am now able to say whence he had procured those Masonic decrees whose ceremonies he had so well described; and I learned it in the following manner:— One of these respectable Ecclesiastics who have found a retreat in the generosity of the English nation from the persecutions of his countrymen, and who to the greatest simplicity of manners joins the knowledge and practice of his duties, Mr. De La Haye, Curate of Fié in the diocese of Mans, hearing that I was writing on Free-masonry, was kind enough, before he had seen my work, to send me some Memoirs that he had written on the same subject. When he came to ask me my opinion on them, I told him, "that, allowing for difference of style, his work had "long since been printed, and the Jacobins in return had mas-"sacred the Author at the Carmes on the famous second of "September." I then showed him the Abbé Le Franc's work, who had added but little to his, and both had fallen into the same error in attributing the origin of Masonry to Socinus — This worthy ecclesiastic answered me, "That he had been

" perfectly unacquainted with the exiſtence of the Abbé Le " Franc's work, but that he could eaſily account for its coin- " cidence with his. I had, ſaid he, ſeveral Free-maſons in my " pariſh. In my neighborhood in particular was that unfortu- " nate Feſſier, a famous Brother of the Lodge at Alençon, ſince " become ſuch a terrible Jacobin, and the intruded Biſhop of " Séez. Several of theſe Maſons renounced their errors; and, " as a proof of their total renunciation of the Lodges, they " gave me up all their papers and Maſonic degrees. I had made " a digeſt of theſe degrees. Mr. Le Franc, who was at that pe- " riod in our dioceſe, preſſed me to publiſh them; but I did " not dare do that, for fear of the Maſons, and I rather choſe " to give a copy of the whole to Mr. Le Franc, requeſting him " to uſe it as he thought fit. Mr. Le Franc went to Paris; the " Revolution took place; and he doubtleſs thought it would " be uſeful to publiſh the work I had given him, having firſt " improved it by the poliſh of his ſtyle; and he certainly has " done it better than I could. If his work has done any good, " I am happy that he publiſhed it; but I am very ſorry to re- " flect that it cauſed his death."—This latter ſentiment, and the fear leſt I ſhould ſuſpect the Abbé Le Franc of a breach of confidence, ſeemed ſolely to occupy this worthy man's mind. I could not help praiſing Mr. Le Franc for having had more courage in publiſhing the work than he had had; and he had beſides given it the ſtyle of a Man of Letters. The point, however, moſt intereſting for our object is, to find in this anecdote a new proof of the authenticity of the degrees publiſhed by the Abbé Le Franc, which I had quoted with ſo much confidence. The teſtimony of repenting Maſons is far more to be relied on than the aſſertions of thoſe who continue to be dupes or perſiſt in their errors.—I addreſs this note to thoſe readers who may ſtill entertain any doubt of the authenticity of the degrees as I have publiſhed them. I alſo declare to the adepts, that nothing would give me greater ſatisfaction than to ſee an anſwer founded, not on nonſence and ſcurrilous abuſe, but on good reaſoning. I am perfectly aware, that a very excellent work on Maſonry might be made. Their Letters and my Anſwers, with other materials that I have by me, may, perhaps, at ſome future time, furniſh the ſubject for ſuch a work.

CHAP. V.

Knigge's Intrigues and Succeſſes at the Congreſs.—Official Reports of the Superiors of the Order.—Multitude of Maſons illuminized at this Period.

First means employed by Knigge to gain over the Congreſs.

OF all the general aſſemblies that had been held by the Maſons for theſe laſt twenty years, whether at Brunſwick, Wiſbaden, or in any other towns in Germany, none could be compared with that of Wilhemſbaden, either for the number of the deputies or the variety of Sects of which it was compoſed. One might ſay, that all the incoherent elements of Maſonry had been thruſt into one den. Knigge informs us, that he had had the honor of being deputed by his ancient brethren; that he might have taken his ſeat and been preſent at the deliberations; but, foreſeeing the iſſue of it, he thought he could more uſefully ſerve the cauſe of his new Illuminiſm by directing the part that *Minos*-Dittfurt was to act in the interior of the Meeting, while he himſelf would hover around and obſerve the exterior. His firſt plan of attack was to gain the *Templar Maſons of the Strict Obſervance*, with whoſe ſecrets he was well acquainted, and he had frequently attended their Lodges, that he might thro' their means enſure a majority of votes. Had he ſucceeded in this plan, Weiſhaupt's code would have been decreed at this general congreſs, and would have become at once the ſtandard law for millions of Maſons ſcattered throughout the globe, who would thus have been illuminized and ready to ſally forth from their lurking places at the command of their Antiſocial Chief.

When deſcribing this plan of attack, Knigge takes care to inform his readers why he abandoned it:——"I own "(ſays he) that I always retained a certain predilection "for my former brethren of the *Strict Obſervance*; I "had already illuminized ſo great a number, that I was "in hopes of uniting their ſyſtem with ours. My inten- "tion moſt certainly could never be to deliver up to the "Congreſs all our papers, and thus to put ourſelves at "the mercy of the deputies. I had not received ſuch pow-

" ers from thoſe who ſent me. *And beſide, we, who did* " *not ſeek after that power that gives greatneſs, rank, or* " *riches; we, who did not ſeek to reign in ſplendor and* " *in the eyes of the public; we, in ſhort, whoſe conſtitu-* " *tion was to act in ſilence and with ſecrecy;* how could " we go and make ourſelves dependent on an Order ſo " deſtitute of unity in its ſyſtems.

" I made, however, an offer of my ſervices; I made it " both in writing and by word of mouth; and all the an- " ſwer I received was, that I might ſend or preſent my " papers to the Congreſs, and that they would judge of " thoſe parts that were to be approved or rejected."*

Stung to the quick at ſuch contempt, Knigge conceiv- ed himſelf abſolved from all his oaths, and from every du- ty toward his ancient brethren. Abandoning all hopes of conquering the whole body, *he reſolved to attack them one by one, and then to gain over the whole body, Lodge by Lodge.* He agreed with the aſſeſſor *Minos* to direct their whole attention in future toward two points; the firſt, to hinder the aſſembly from paſſing any reſolutions detrimental to the intereſts of their Illuminiſm; the other, to facilitate its intruſion into the Lodges, and that with ſo much art that no degree, nor any Grand Maſter, could be an obſtacle to the domination of the Bavarian Breth- ren; and that means ſhould be found ſooner or later to unite the code of the Illuminees with that of the Maſons. —Such was the object of the miſſion entruſted by Knigge to his co-adept *Minos*, whom he charged to get the fol- lowing reſolutions paſſed: " 1ſt, A ſort of union of all " the Maſonic ſyſtems in the firſt three degrees, ſo that a " Maſon admitted to theſe three degrees ſhould be ac- " knowledged as a true brother by every Lodge of what- " ever claſs or ſyſtem it might be.—2dly, That in com- " mon Maſonry no mention ſhould ever be made of the " higher degrees or of the unknown Superiors.——3dly, " That all tranſmitting of money to the Maſonic Supe- " riors ſhould be forbidden.——4thly, That a new code " ſhould be prepared for the brethren.—5thly, That eve- " ry Lodge ſhould chooſe its own Superiors and Direc- " tory, that is to ſay, ſhould declare to which Grand " Lodge they choſe theirs ſhould be ſubject."†

* Laſt Obſervations of *Philo*, Page 83.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Knigge's Report of *Dimeh* 1132, or January 1783.

While *Minos* was thus following his inſtructions within, Knigge was without, acting the part of Inſinuator and Scrutator. " I ſought to know, (ſays he in the ſame re-" port to the Areopagites) and I knew what turn things " were taking in the aſſembly. I knew all the different " ſyſtems that different parties wiſhed to make predomi-" nate; I then entered into a correſpondence, which I ſtill " continue, with the Chiefs of Zinnendorf's party.* I " alſo founded the Chiefs of other parties by various means. " Several came of themſelves and diſcloſed themſelves to " me, entruſting me with all their ſecrets becauſe they " knew that I was ſolely actuated by a wiſh for the gen-" eral good, and not by perſonal conſiderations. In ſhort, " ſome of the deputies learned *(I know not how)* that our " Illuminiſm was in exiſtence. They *almoſt all* came to " me to entreat me to admit them;—I thought it proper " to exact the *reverſal letters* (of our candidates) from " them, commanding them to keep abſolute ſilence on the " ſubject; but I took care not to entruſt them with the " leaſt part of our ſecrets. I only ſpoke to them of our " myſteries in general terms, during the whole time that " the Congreſs continued."†

This method of proceeding, and the art with which he inſinuated that Maſonry, undoubtedly, was in poſſeſ-ſion of myſteries of the higheſt importance; but that the profound Maſons, who were in poſſeſſion of ſuch myſte-ries, were not to be met with at the congreſs, greatly aug-mented the curioſity and ſtimulated the ardor of the de-puties for his Illuminiſm. The care with which he took the *reverſal letters*, the character of candidate, the pro-miſe he exacted at the ſame time of all theſe deputies not to ſecond any propoſition detrimental to the new brother-hood, were ſufficient to enſure him againſt any reſolutions that might be entered into by the meeting. Beſide, the diſpoſitions he obſerved in theſe deputies were ſufficient to ſtrengthen his hopes. " I owe them the juſtice to ſay," he continues in his report, " that I found *the greateſt* " *part of them in the beſt diſpoſitions*; that if their con-

* This ſyſtem of Zinnendorf was an incoherent medley of the Scotch and Swediſh degrees, of the Knights Templars, of the *Confidants of St. John;* and at that time was the predomi-nant ſyſtem in Germany.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Knigge's Report of *Dimeh* 1122, or January 1782.

" duct was not effective it was for want of having been " nurtured in a better school.* . . . . . It was with plea- " sure I observed, that if the *excellent intentions* that had " brought these men together *from all corners of Maſon-* " *ry*, were not more efficacious, it was becauſe they could " not agree on principles. *Moſt of them* appeared to be " ready to follow any ſyſtem that they judged conducive " to give to their Order that utility and activity that was " the object of all their wiſhes."†

Whatever may be the partiality of the hiſtorian for the Maſonic Brotherhood, it will be impoſſible for him to invalidate this terrible evidence of Knigge againſt their choſen and privileged members; againſt thoſe whom the Order judged moſt worthy of repreſenting it in ſolemn congreſs. No man can miſconceive the ſignification of *beſt diſpoſitions* or of *excellent intentions* in the mouth of *Philo*-Knigge. They evidently demonſtrate men who needed only to be made acquainted with the means of working a revolution of impiety and anarchy, to undertake it. This vaſt Brotherhood of Maſons muſt, at this period at leaſt, have been ſorely affected in its higher myſteries. It was prepared for conſpirators even of Weiſhaupt's ſtamp.

Certain of ſucceſs, Knigge ſeems to have left the aſſembly to its diſorderly deliberations; and notwithſtanding the imprudence with which he taxes *Minos*, the latter ſucceeded in obtaining the decree of the principal particulars agreed between them. It was forbidden that any brethren ſhould call each other Heretics *(Verketzern)*. It was decided that the firſt three degrees alone ſhould be looked upon as eſſential to Maſonry. Commiſſaries were named to digeſt certain regulations, the plan of which had been given by the aſſembly, as well as of a general code. The choice of the higher degrees and of ſyſtems was left to the deciſions of each Lodge. The reſt of the deliberations were as boiſterous as might be expected from the variety of Sects. I have before me a manuſcript account of this aſſembly written by a very learned Maſon, and it contains nearly as much lamentation as it does inſtruction. Among other things I find, that the Duke Ferdinand of Brunſwick was proclaimed Grand Maſter of all Maſonry, and that few members recognized him as

* Ibid. † Laſt Obſervations, Page 85.

ſuch. Again I ſee, that it was wiſhed to abrogate the ſyſtem of the *Templar Maſons*, whoſe abominations and ſecrets had been expoſed by ſome falſe brother in a work called *The Stone of Scandal*, but that few Lodges would obey the abrogation. Moreover an attempt was made to quaſh all Sects and Schiſms; but they neither could be overpowered, and confuſion continued to prevail with redoubled force.

Let us however obſerve, that if any ſyſtem can be ſaid to have gained a preponderance it was that of the *Philaletes*, a ſort of ſpurious offspring of Swedenborg. The moſt famous Illuminees of that ſet, *Wilhermoz*, *St. Martin*, and *La Chappe de la Henriere*, had made an attempt to connect themſelves with the Hero of Crevelt and Minden; it is even aſſerted, that he was miſled by their appellation of *Philaletes* and of *Benevolent Knights*. Strong, however, in his protection, neither they nor their agents ſpared any pains to carry the day at Willemſbaden; they were well ſupported, and victory muſt have infallibly declared in their favor, had not Knigge already gained over ſo many of the deputies. Hence the reſult of this too famous congreſs was to have been the delivery over of all the Maſonic Lodges, and, with them, of all the governments of Europe, to two Sects of Illuminees, the moſt impious and the moſt diſaſtrous in their views, and moſt unrelenting in their zeal for the overthrow of every religion and of every government whatever.

I know not into which of theſe two ſects the Count de Virieux had been initiated; but either might have ſuggeſted the manner in which he deſcribed the reſult of this Maſonic Congreſs. On his return to Paris, being complimented by the Count de Gilliers on the ſublime ſecrets he had been in queſt of at Willemſbaden, and preſſed a little by the ſarcaſtic ſtyle with which the Count was wont to jeer the Brotherhood, he at length anſwered, "I "will not tell you the ſecrets I bring; but what I think I "may tell you is, that it is all much more ſerious than "you think. *The fact is, that a conſpiracy is now con-* "*triving, and that with ſo much art and of ſo profound* "*a nature, that it will be very difficult for Religion and* "*Nations not to ſink under it.*" Happily for Mr. de Virieux, ſaid Mr. de Gilliers when he told me this anecdote, the Count had a great fund of probity and uprightneſs. What he had learned on his miſſion ſo diſguſted

him with the myſteries, that he abandoned them and became a very religious man. It was to this event that his great zeal againſt the Jacobins may be attributed.

Unfortunately for all nations, theſe plots did not inſpire the other Maſonic Deputies with a ſimilar horror. The Congreſs being terminated, *Philo*-Knigge haſtened to reap the benefit of his intrigues; and his harveſt was much more plentiful than he expected. On the breaking up of the aſſembly, the deputies flocked to him to beg admiſſion to the myſteries. Such candidates needed no long noviciate, or tedious trials in the minerval ſchools; they were to be conducted quickly to the myſteries; and Knigge admitted them to the degrees of Epopt and Regent, *which they all received* (he tells us) *with enthuſiaſm.** "All of them *were enraptured* with our degrees "of Epopt and of Regent; all were enchanted with theſe "*maſter-pieces*, for ſo they ſtyled theſe degrees. Two "only made ſome ſlight obſervations on certain expreſ- "ſions, that may be eaſily changed according to local cir- "cumſtances, and particularly in Catholic countries."†

Were it not that all honeſt Maſons would ſink under grief and aſtoniſhment, I ſhould conjure them to weigh for a moment theſe words, *all were enraptured, all received them with enthuſiaſm*; all Elect, Roſicrucians, Templars, Brethren of Zinnendorf, Brethren of St. John, Knights of the Sun, Knights Kadoſh, Perfect Philoſophers; all hearken, and receive with enthuſiaſm thoſe oracles of the Hierophant which caſt ſuch light on their antique myſteries, and, expounding the meaning of their *Hiram*, their *Mac Benac*, and their *Poliſhed Stone*, ſhow that they contain nothing more than that primitive Equality and Liberty, as well as that Morality, which entirely conſiſt in the art of annihilating princes, governments, religion, and property! When theſe Deputies ſhall return to their *Orients*, and ſpread themſelves throughout the Maſonic Directories and Provinces, will not theſe original plots be intruded on your Lodges under the pretence of myſteries? Fly then ſuch dens of ſedition; and

* Die höberen graden wurden mit enthuſiaſmus au fgenommen.

† Jeder mann war zufrieden—Meine Leute waren entzückt über dieſe meiſter ſtücke. *Laſt Obſervations, Pages* 125 *and* 132—*and Original Writings, Let.* 1, *of* Philo *to* Cato.

learn once for all, that thoſe men in whom you place ſuch confidence are profound conſpirators abuſing your confidence, juſt as they will that of princes at a future day.—View then this pretended Brotherhood as a hoard of conſpirators, who have long waited only for the baleful genius of a Weiſhaupt to launch out into all the crimes of revolution.

From the period when theſe Maſonic Deputies were illuminized, the Bavarian Sect aſſumed a menacing aſpect; and its progreſs is ſo rapid, that the univerſe will ſoon be overrun with Conſpirators. The center of action may be ſaid to have been at Frankfort, where Knigge reſided; and he computes the number of perſons he had illuminized, and nearly all of whom were Maſons, at five hundred.* There is ſcarcely a town in his neighborhood, but has its Epopts and Minerval Schools; Franconia, Swabia, the Circles of the Higher and Lower Rhine, Weſtphalia, &c. ſwarm with them.

The towns of Vienna and Berlin almoſt immediately ſhowed that Auſtria and Pruſſia were falling a prey to Illuminiſm. Tyrol had been already infected, and the ſame apoſtle had proceeded to carry it into Italy. In the north adepts were making their attacks on the Lodges of Bruxelles and of Holland, while others were preparing *to introduce Weiſhaupt's myſteries into England.* In Livonia they had gained footing; and treaties were making in Poland, to throw the whole power of the Confederations into the hands of the Illuminees. If the day of France was not yet come, it was becauſe they entertained deeper views on her; but the day was to come, and all Europe ſhall now know why it has been deferred.

It would be of little avail for me to have produced Weiſhaupt's code, were I not alſo to produce demonſtrative evidence of its progreſs and continuation. Hiſtory will demand that I prove the exiſtence of this Sect, its myſteries, and conſpiracies, ranging from the north to the ſouth, and from the eaſt to the weſt, enliſting under its banners that multitude of hands which it needed to work revolutions. To effectuate this, I ſhall again appeal to their own annals; they are mutilated, it is true; but notwithſtanding that, they are menacing, and they are demonſtrative.

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. from *Philo* to *Cato*.

In the very year after the congreſs of Willemſbaden we find five provinces completely organized according to the Laws of the modern *Spartacus*, under the general direction of *Philo*-Knigge, and in full correſpondence with the illuminizing Areopagites.† Even during the time of the congreſs we find in the *Original Writings* not only ſimple letters on the progreſs made by a few candidates, but official reports, and ſtatements made by the Provincials of their provinces, relating to the progreſs of their novices, of their initiated, and of their emiſſaries.

Official Reports.

Let us caſt our eyes on theſe documents, for none can be better authenticated. Perhaps I might have done well to have tranſlated the whole of them; but tho' I abridge them, they will ſtill retain the whole force of evidence.

I. Of the Province of Panonia.

The firſt of theſe reports is from *Mahomet*.† This Provincial of a new ſpecies was the Baron SCHROECKENSTEIN, the ſame whom Weiſhaupt ſo early as the firſt year of his Illuminiſm, enliſted at Aichſtadt, and whom he claſſed among thoſe fooliſh Ariſtocrats who were *to ſwallow the bait*. The Baron ſo completely ſwallowed the bait, that in ſix years we find him one of the Chiefs of the Conſpiracy. The Province he preſided over in the Illuminized Geography was denominated *Pannonia*, comprehending the diſtricts of *Morea* and *Latium*, which compriſe the Lodges of *Olympia*, *Damietta*, *Tibur*, *Hiſpalis*, *Damaſcus*, *Sichem*, *Nicomedia*, and *Surentum*. I find that his reſidence is at Aichſtadt; and he informs the Areopagites, that he has given the name of *Surentum* to the new colony of Mompelgard, which he looks upon as belonging to the Duchy of Wurtemberg, and therefore ſhould be compriſed within the diſtrict of *Latium*. I alſo find that *Nicomedia* is Augſbourg; hence I conclude, that the Lodges under the inſpection of this adept were ſo many conqueſts made by Illuminiſm, partly in Bavaria, and partly in Swabia.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 3, from *Philo* to Weiſhaupt.

‡ This report is of the month of *Chardad* 1152, that is to ſay June 1782, conſequently anterior to the breaking up of the Maſonic Congreſs. *Mahomet* is nevertheleſs in direct correſpondence with *Philo*-Knigge; for we may obſerve the latter pointing out to the former novices to be initiated. *Original Writings*, *Philo's Report*.

The report contains ſtrong proofs of this Provincial's zeal for the propagation of the Order. We may obſerve him threatening two adepts with their immediate diſmiſſion unleſs they ſhow more activity, and promoting two others becauſe they excelled in the arts of inſinuation.—As a proof of the care with which he deſcribes his inferiors, and of the precautions he takes according to their characters, let the reader peruſe the account he gives of the Brotherhood at *Olympia*, which he has juſt been inſpecting: "Ihave learned, (he writes), to know the Brother *Zeno*. I did not find him to be a *thinker*, and much "leſs a *ſcrutator*. . . . He does not like to meddle with "things that are above the human underſtanding; and he "contents himſelf with the degree of Minerval, but *promiſes to enliſt us ſome good novices*. . . . *Crantor* has more "ardor; I initiated him myſelf into the Minerval degree. "You may eaſily conceive how much he is diſpleaſed "with all his ſcience, and how much his wit diſconcerts "him, when I tell how that he is furious at his father for "having had him taught to write. . . . *Speuſippus* was "ill; the others though young are full of ardor. . . . . "The colony is weak as yet. . . . . *Be guarded in your "letters to Zeno. He told me, that he would not lodge in "the ſame houſe with a man who doubted of the immor-"mortality of the Soul.* . . . . All theſe Brethren hold "their regular meetings, but don't dare enliſt their novi-"ces under the name of Maſonry. *They prefer doing it "under the pretence of a Literary Society*, and I made "no difficulty in permitting them to continue their prac-"tice."

In that town of *Latium*, or of the Dutchy of Wurtemberg, which *Mahomet* calls *Damietta*, there is an academy and a college; and one of the profeſſors is the adept *Phirro*, whoſe *honeſty* and *activity* could not be ſufficiently praiſed by the Provincial. The following inſtitution may ſerve as a ſpecimen of this man's honesty: "By means of this Brother, ſays *Mahomet*, the whole "academy of this town has become a real nurſery for us "*(eine pflanz ſchule für uns)*. *Pythagoras*-DREXL is "the unknown ſuperior of *this aſſembly, which is entirely "compoſed of young pupils of noble birth.* He has under "him an apparent ſuperior to conduct and form them, *cho-"ſen from among the young men.* No *reverſal letters* are "required of them; they are only flattered with the hopes

" ſhould they prove faithful to the leſſons inſtilled into " them) of *being hereafter admitted into an Order com-* " *poſed of the beſt of men.*"

Leſt ſuch leſſons ſhould be loſt to thoſe who were educated at Court, the adept *Epimenides*-FALK, aulic counſellor and burgo-maſter of Hanover, has taken care to illuminize the ſub-preceptor of a young Prince deſigned by the initials T. H. . . . After having told all this news to the Areopagites, *Mahomet* at length informs them that *Machiavel*, one of his emiſſaries, has ſent in a liſt of the honeſt men with whom he has made an acquaintance in Switzerland; and that things would take a good turn there, provided *Philo*-Knigge would ſtimulate a little the zeal of the Helvetian apoſtle.

II. Of Dacia and Lydia.

The next official report is from *Minos*-DITTFURT the Aſſeſſor. This man was alſo a Baron. As a recompenſe for the pains he had taken at Willemſbaden, Knigge had made him the Provincial or ſuperior of Veteravia, probably of part of Weſtphalia. His command compriſed two diſtricts, *Dacia* and *Lydia*. Overburthened with buſineſs, and more attentive to that of Illuminiſm than to the affairs of the Empire, he gives but a brief account for the preſent. He names about a dozen Brethren among whom are four novices. He diſtinguiſhes the Brother *Bentharith* in particular, whom he means to entruſt with the eſtabliſhment of a Minerval School at *Benſabé*. Meanwhile, till he can report further progreſs, he propoſes his plan *for an illuminized ſiſterhood*, which he promiſes to place under the direction of another Baron, who, like himſelf is an Aſſeſſor at the Imperial Chamber. About the ſame time (*Merdemeh* 1152, Auguſt 1782), Knigge's report ſtates, that *Minos* was in correſpondence with Doctor Stark, in hopes of making a conqueſt of the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt by means of his grand Almoner. The Illuminizing Aſſeſſor does not report the progreſs of this negociation; but Knigge appears to have foreſeen the ſucceſs it would have, when he writes to the Areopagites, " I am much pleaſed to ſee that Bro- " ther *Minos* has entered into a correſpondence with " Doctor Stark; it will teach him, that to be able to " treat with a man of wit one muſt have ſome one's ſelf."

Though it ſeems that Knigge did not allow any great ſhare to this Provincial, yet he founded great hopes on his ſervices, eſpecially if *his too great zeal could be repreſſed*.

III. Of Albania.

The third report is from the adept *Epictetus*-MIEG, Provincial of Albania, the same Brother whom we shall find mentioned by Knigge as founding the Lodge at Manheim surnamed *Surinam*, and at Frankenthal that called *Parmaribo*, within the prefecture of *Paphlagonia*, or of the Palatinate. It would seem, that at that period *Albania* had passed under the inspection of some other Provincial: This *Epictetus*-Mieg was a counsellor and Protestant Minister of Heidelberg, his habitual residence, and had been instructed in the arts of Insinuator by Weishaupt himself.

The reader may judge of this man's merits from the following eulogium that Weishaupt makes on him when writing to *Celsus*: "Do not forget, when at Munich, to "do every thing in your power for our *Epictetus*. He "is nearly the best of the adepts. He has a little too "much ardor, but in all other points he is incomparable. "He has already *made a conquest for the Order of nearly* "*the whole Palatinate*. Not a country town but con- "tains one or two adepts at least."* This letter being of the same year as the report, it would be useless to particularize. Some, however, of the Brethren, mentioned by *Epictetus* deserve our attention: such, for example, as a certain Brother described by the initials B. E. under the direction of *Diodorus*, who in a Catholic University and of the Catholic Religion himself until that period, thought he could not give a better proof of his zeal for Illuminism, than by attempting to defend a Protestant thesis, and that under a pretence that denotes neither a Catholic nor a Protestant, but a man who views Religion only as a political invention. He gives for reason, that the *College of the Counts of Westphalia must be a Protestant College*. Next the Brother *Erastus*, of the same degree, who asks advice as to the best means to succeed *in Illuminizing the Preceptor of the Prince of Dupont's son*, and by that means to educate the young Prince according to the views of the Order. And lastly the Brother *Pic de la Mirandole*, or BRUNNER, a Priest at Tiefenback, in the bishopric of Spire. "This man, (says the Provincial,) is as yet a novice, but full of zeal for the

* Hat schier die ganze pfaltz unter das commando des O's *(ordens)* g bracht. In jedem landstädtchen sind ein oder zwie —*Original Writings, Vol. II. Let.* 13, *anno* 1782.

" Order. The tenth of September he defended his The-
" ſis in ſpite of the Jeſuits. In his *Quibus Licet he begs*
" *the Order to take precautions leſt the fortreſs of Phi-*
" *lipſbourg*, which the Auſtrians had abandoned, *ſhould*
" *fall into the hands of a bigoted officer, who was petition-*
" *ing for the government of it*; and to have it given to
" another officer (more worthy of it, I ſuppoſe) who as-
" pired to it."—This Illuminized Novice, who already pays ſo much attention to fortreſſes, will appear on the ſtage again with the Brethren of Mentz, conſpiring and delivering up that town to the French Jacobins.

IV. Report by *Agis*-Kröber.

The fourth official report is made by the adept *Agis*-Kröber. He does not take the title of Provincial; he only acts for *Alberoni*-Bleubetrue, originally a Jew, and who afterward made himſelf a Chriſtian to become Aulic Counſellor to the Prince of Neuwied, and a Provincial of the Illuminees. *Agis* was governor to the Count Stolberg's children, and the memoirs I have before me declare him to have been afterwards charged with the education of the young Prince of Neuwied, to have gained the good graces of the Princeſs, ſowing diſcord in that court, and deſtroying the internal happineſs of that family; in ſhort, he was known to all Germany by a name that could not reflect honor on his protectrix. As news, he informs the Areopagites that the Baron de Witte, at Aix-la-Chapelle, is much more zealous than was expected; that he has undertaken to illuminize his Maſonic Lodge there; and that from his letters they may hope to ſee that of Bruxelles ſhare a ſimilar fate. . . . The Brother *Agis* enquires whether they think it proper that he ſhould enter into a correſpondence with *thoſe fools of the Hermetic Cabel*. Before he initiates them in the ſecrets of the Order, he wiſhes to preſent himſelf at their Lodges as one acquainted with their's. He owns that he is not ſufficiently maſter of all their ſyſtems. He aſks for ſome inſtruction, that he may perfect himſelf in them, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered by thoſe Maſons for whom he has a ſovereign contempt, but with whoſe jargon it is neceſſary that he ſhould be acquainted, to make a conqueſt of them for the Order. Theſe inſtructions are the more neceſſary, as a Brother of the diſtrict has juſt applied to him for leave to ſhow ſome of his letters to the Venerable of the Maſonic Lodge at *Iris*, to enable him to make but one draught of the whole Lodge, Venerable and all.

In the ſame report the Brother *Agis* recommends to the Areopagites the adept *Archelaus*-BARRES, heretofore a major in the French ſervice, at preſent throwing himſelf on the protection of the Order to obtain a place in ſome court of Germany, and the Croſs of Merit from that of France, with a brevet of *Major à la ſuite:* "I had "taken it into my head (ſays he) that the Ambaſſador "Ch.... was one of ours; that he had great influence "with .... (the court or miniſters), therefore I did not "refuſe our protection. If we ſucceed in this buſineſs, *the* "*fame of our power will be greatly extended.* Scarcely "a week paſſes without ſomebody coming to ſolicit our "protection at the courts of Verſailles, of Vienna, or of "Berlin. It is enough to make one die of laughing. We "take great care, however, not to diſmiſs thoſe people "without hopes; we only ſay, that we do not like to im-"portune thoſe courts every day."

A marginal note is found oppoſite to this article in Knigge's own hand-writing, ſaying, *Who the devil has put into their heads this fable of our omnipotence?* The man who wrote the queſtion might alſo have written the anſwer; for we may obſerve him long before this period ſtraining every nerve to give the Brethren a high opinion of the power of the Order, and even flattering himſelf, that through the exertions of his agents he had obtained for the adepts *honorable ſituations, livings, and dignities, which he diſtributed in the names of the unknown ſuperiors, who were not even in exiſtence at that time*; and when theſe ſuperiors do exiſt, we ſee him acting preciſely as the Brother *Agis* had done, procuring from an adept Count the place of *Chancellor Director*, with a ſalary of twelve hundred florins, ſending the nomination to his candidate *Wundt, eccleſiaſtical counſellor at Heidelberg*; and, to ſhow the candidate the great power of the Brethren, informing him, *that the Order had got him named to this dignity.**

The very article on which Knigge had made this note is followed by another, which will ſufficiently demonſtrate the credit they had acquired in certain courts, and the uſe they could turn it to for the propagation of their myſte-

* See laſt Obſervations of Philo, Page 45.—Original Writings, Vol. II. Page 202.

ries. "This week (continues *Agis*) we shall receive a "Lutheran minister, who by *slight of hand has collected* "*about nine thousand florins* for the community (the "Lodge) of this place. *As soon as peace is made, he is* "TO SET OFF FOR LONDON, *with a multitude of letters* "*of recommendation.* The Pr—— F—— O. B. uncle to "the reigning Duke, has promised to second him with all "his might.* It is our intention also to employ him in "that country for the Order. HE MUST SLILY ILLU-"MINIZE THE ENGLISH. . . . A large Dutch wig, a "sallow and meagre complexion, large eyes widely open-"ed, a fertile imagination, a perfect knowledge of men, "acquired by roving about the world for the space of two "years under the disguise of a beggar. . . . Do not you "think that with such qualifications this man will do won-"ders?—During this winter we will drill him, as the "Hernuti used to do their apostles."

The adept so well described by *Agis*-Kröber, and on whom he grounds his hopes of the *Illuminization of England*, is not mentioned even by his characteristic; but a manuscript marginal note informs me, that his real name was RÖNTGEN, a Dutch protestant of Petkam, in East Friesland.

V. Of Picinum.

The fifth report is mutilated, and is without the name of any Provincial. Such as it is, however, it forcibly evinces the progress of the Sect during the last three months of 1782 in the Electorates of Cologn and of Treves, called *Picinum*. At this epoch the Provincial is much elated at the high repute Masonry has acquired in those parts since it has been illuminized. "Here "(says he) a Mason was formerly a laughing-stock, "whereas now a man who does not belong to a Lodge is "pitied. Every body flocks to us; and the prophane "thirst after our mysteries.—Every body comes to crave "the protection of an Order that is so powerful."

A very unexpected proof of their power is to be found in their Archives; it is the disgrace and exile of the Abbé Beck, whom the Prince Clement of Saxony and Elect-

* In my copy of the Original Writings I find a manuscript note in the margin, by a man who is very conversant on these matters; it states, that these initials stand for the *Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.* PR—— F—— V. B—— *hat ihm alle unterstützung versprochen.*

or of Treves had till then favored with his confidence. I had not the honor of being acquainted with this venerable eccleſiaſtic; but I remembered to have ſeen ſome of his friends at Paris, who augured ill from this diſgrace. I little expected at that time to find his apology in ſo complete a ſtyle in the report made by the Provincial to his ſuperiors: "The famous executioner of the Electors con- "ſcience, the Abbé B. has at length received his dis- "miſſion, and an order to leave the country. Ever ſince "the Elector has had this *Jeſuit** in his ſervice he has "been a declared enemy to Free-maſonry, and generally "ſpeaking, to every thing that tends to enlighten man- "kind. Now that this Jeſuit is out of the way, *we have* "*the greateſt hopes* of making a glorious harveſt in Treves "and the Electorate." How indignant muſt his Electoral Highneſs have been when he diſcovered in his official report the true origin of all thoſe inſinuations to which one of his moſt faithful ſervants had fallen a victim; and particularly when he obſerved the advantages that his real enemies and enemies of all governments, promiſed themſelves in conſequence of an illuſion originating, in all probability, entirely with themſelves.

We ſhall here give another proof of the omnipotence that the Order was acquiring in the different courts of Germany. The Provincial, under the head of the Lodge of *Pinna*, that is to ſay Hachenburg, gives an account of the inauguration of Doctor Vogler, phyſician to the Count of Kirchenberg, and then continues, "Here the "affairs of the Order proſper amazingly well; *the Count* "*is entirely ſurrounded by Illuminees. His private ſe-* "*cretary, his phyſician, his paſtor, his counſellors, are* "*all ours.—The Prince's favorites are our moſt zealous* "*adepts; and we have taken our precautions for the fu-* "*ture. Let the Order eſtabliſh itſelf as well elſewhere,* "*and the world is our's.*"

This wiſh of the illuminizing Provincial would ſoon have been accompliſhed, had the adepts been every where as zealous as thoſe whom he mentions of the provinces of *Picinum* and *Dacia*. One adept in particular had made

* The appellation *Jeſuit* is here uſed by the Illuminees as a term of ſcurrilous reproach, as it frequently is againſt any perſon inimical to their principles, for the Abbé Beck never was a Jeſuit.

thirteen novices in three months; and it is not unworthy of remark, that eleven were already Free-masons and two Lutheran ministers, who were *characterized* in the Order by the names of *Averroës* and *Theognis*. The first showed so much zeal, activity, and intelligence, and the principles of the Order appeared to have taken such deep root in his heart, that the superiors hastened his initiation into the higher degrees, that they might admit him to the council, and ease themselves of some part of their labors on him. The other *Theognis*-FISCHER, became curate of Wölsbrücst in Austria, near Lintz, by means of the intrigues of the adept *Pausanias*. In Knigge's report to the Areopagites, I find the following note on this adept:

"*Theognis*, at the time of his promotion to his curacy, "received a letter from the bishop of K——, the princi- "ples of which appear to have been copied from our "code. The prelate mentions a secret project of reform, "and begs *Theognis* not to show his letter to any body. "The Brethren of this colony are firmly persuaded that "the Bishop is one of our adepts; and to that circum- "stance they attribute his having given a benifice to *The-* "*ognis*; and in consequence of it they labor with redou- "bled zeal."

What can have induced the editor of the Original Writings to give only the initial letter of this Bishop's name? Have not the Evangelists named Judas Iscariot at full length? Why not then name the prelate HASLEIN, vice-president of the spiritual council at Munich, afterwards Lord Bishop of KHERSON for the church, and Brother *Philo of Byblos* for Weishaupt? With a little less respect for persons, mistrust would fall on those who deserve it, and who so little respect their own dignity; and the world would know the man who was foremost in the conspiracy against God, though he might wear a mitre.

Reports by Knigge.

Before I undertake to present a list to my readers, I will mention the last official reports recorded in the annals of the Sect. They are made by Knigge himself, and are dated *Thirmeh*, *Merdedmeh*, *Dimeh*, 1152, that is to say July and August 1782, and the January following. We there find, that his mission at Willemsbaden did not hinder him from overlooking the provincial superiors, whose reports I have just stated. It was to him that their reports were first sent; he transmitted them to the Areo-

pagites, after making ſuch remarks as his zeal for the propagation of the Sect might ſuggeſt. What he particularly blames in his inferiors was, a want of method. That want of regularity in their proceedings appeared to him to impede their ſucceſs, and to render it leſs certain than he could wiſh. And he writes to his ſenate, "I cannot "ſufficiently repeat it; when we ſhall have organized "the whole body, when every province ſhall have its "Provincial, and every Inſpector ſhall have three Provin-"cials under his inſpection; when our National Direct-"ory ſhall be eſtabliſhed at *Rome* (that is to ſay Vienna); "when our Areopagites ſhall be freed from all the tire-"ſome detail, (and by that means certain of remaining "unknown) and ſhall only have to inſpect the whole, to "perfect the ſyſtem, and to direct the propagation of it in "other countries; when the Order can give proper help "to the directing Brethren, then, and not before, ſhall we "be able to do ſomething."

Soon after theſe leſſons, and under the head of France, we read, "With reſpect to that country, I would not "adviſe you to undertake any thing until I ſhall have "diſpoſed of the multiplicity of buſineſs that overpowers "me at preſent. I have even laid aſide for the preſent my "projects on Alſace and Lorraine." Meanwhile, till that day comes, Knigge takes a view of the reports returned to him by the Provincials, and ſubjoins to the number of their Novices thoſe whom he had made himſelf. But the grand object that abſorbs all his attention is the means of conſummating the intruſion into the Maſonic Lodges, which is at once to enliſt millions of men under the ſtandard of his Areopage, and to effect his Illuminizing revolution.

At the period of this laſt report, that is, January 1783, this intruſion had made great progreſs; and it was to that circumſtance that Weiſhaupt was indebted for the multitude of adepts who already had ſpread his conſpiracy throughout Germany. Let the reader caſt an eye on the map of Germany, and on the Lodges already illuminized. It is true, that many towns are at preſent unintelligible, in conſequence of the geographical nomenclature adopted by the Sect; but every one of theſe names denotes an Illuminized Lodge, a town where the conſpirators had gained a hold; and hence we may obſerve, that ſcarcely a canton is to be found where this baleful Sect has not

penetrated. Let us attend only to thoſe towns that, in ſpite of all their precautions, have been diſcovered either by the writings or habitual reſidence of the great adepts; —what a formidable alliance have they already formed! The firſt of the Provincials immediately under the direction of Weiſhaupt has under him alone the Lodges of Munich, of Ratiſbon, of Landſberg, of Burghauſen, of Straubingen, and of Freyſingen.—In the Circles of Franconia and Swabia, the Baron *Mahomet* preſides, at leaſt over thoſe at Aichſtadt, his habitual reſidence, at Bamberg, at Nuremberg, at Augſbourg, at Mompelgard, and over thoſe of the Dutchy of Wurtemberg.—In the Circles of the Upper Rhine and of the Palatinate of the Lower Rhine the Sect has eſtabliſhed itſelf, at Deuxponts, Manheim, Frankenthal, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Wetzlar, and Franckfort on the Mein.—The Electorates of Mayence, of Treves and Cologne, have, with their capitals, ſhared a ſimilar fate.—In Weſtphalia, this diſtemper rages at Aix-La-Chapelle, at Neuwied, and at Hachenburg.—In Higher and Lower Saxony, at Kiel, at Bremen, at Brunſwick, at Hanover, at Gottinguen, at Gotha, at Jena.—The great adepts Nicolai and Lechſering, eſtabliſh Illuminiſm at Berlin, and the adept *Brutus* reports that the Minerval Schools are in as full activity at Vienna, in Auſtria, as they were at Lintz. *Hannibal*, or Weiſhaupt's grand commiſſioner the Baron Baſſus, had eſtabliſhed it at Inſpruck and Botzen, and at many other towns in the Tyrol. From the bottom of his den, at Ingoldſtadt, Weiſhaupt preſides over his conſpiring crew; and through their means he commands, as it were, Germany and its confines, and might be called its Emperor of Darkneſs. He has more towns in his conſpiracy than the Chief of the Empire has in his dominions.

At this period a great revolution took place in the code of the Illuminees, which only contributed to augment the ſtrength of the Sect, and which I hope the hiſtorian will not overlook, as it will furniſh him with an anſwer to thoſe who may repeat an objection that has often been made to me. "Weiſhaupt's Illuminiſm only began in Bavaria about the middle of the year 1776; the Sect chiefly attached itſelf to youth. It required a long noviciate, and many years for its Minerval ſchools to form the adepts and prepare them for the degrees where the conſpiracy is entered upon. It muſt have required therefore

generation after generation to form that multitude of conſpirators whoſe marſhalled cohorts riſe triumphant at a time when Illuminiſm is ſtill in its cradle."

This objection may have appeared forcible; but at the period where we now ſtand it ſolves itſelf. Knigge has anſwered it when he enumerates that multitude of Maſons who have already attained the years of diſcretion, and did not ſtand in need of thoſe long trials, and who, in the proteſtant countries particularly diſdained the Minerval ſchools *only the more to ſhow their ardor to be admitted to the higher degrees* of the conſpiracy.* Weiſhaupt ſoon underſtood the reaſon of this rapid progreſs; and it was on that account that he diſpenſed with the ſeverity of the code and the trials of the Minerval ſchool, and that he exhorted his Inſinuators to enroll, after Knigge's example, men who could be quickly advanced to the higher myſteries: Such was the new method of recruiting that was adopted at this period. When the Provincials mention the ages of their Novices, we find few that have not attained the age of manhood, generally of twenty-five, thirty, forty, and even fifty years of age, and whoſe occupations in life denote years of diſcretion. Thus then does the Sect enliſt multitudes of hands that do not wait for

* Knigge ſays, that in the Catholic countries the Philoſophical writings, the light of the age, (the impiety of the day) had not made near ſo much progreſs as in Proteſtant countries. This was true with reſpect to Bavaria; would to God that the ſame thing could have been ſaid of France! Be that as it may, "The Minerval ſchools, ſays Knigge, did not take at "all in the Proteſtant countries; and in fact, ſays he, ſuch in- "ſtitutions could only be of uſe in Catholic countries buried "in darkneſs, and for indifferent old-faſhioned beings. But "the greater the averſion ſhewn by the Brethren for theſe aſ- "ſemblies of Novices, the more earneſtly they ſolicited to be "admitted to the higher degrees.—*Mit der Minerval claſſe* "*wollte es in proteſtantiſchen länder durchaus nicht fort, und* "*würklich war auch dieſe anſtalt vorzüglich nur in forſinſterten* "*catholiſchen provinzen, und auf mittelmäſſige altags menſchen* "*anwendbar—Je weniger aber die mietglieder geneigt waren* "*verſammlungen der Pflanz-ſchule anzulegen, um deſto eifriger* "*drangen ſie in mich, ihnen endlich die höhere grade mitzutthei-* "*len.*" *Philo endliche erklärung, P. 52, 53, et paſſim.* The reader will not forget that Knigge ſpeaks particularly of thoſe ſophiſticated Maſons among whom he was making recruits, and who were better prepared for the myſteries than the others, becauſe they were more accuſtomed to the ſecrets of the Lodge.

age to enable them to prepare for, or even to act when the day of revolution shall be come.

Another consideration that should not escape the historian is, the avowal (frequently repeated by the Adepts in the Original Writings) "that the great progress they made was in consequence of the facility with which they introduced themselves into the Masonic Lodges, and of the preponderance that the mysteries of Illuminism daily acquired in the Lodges." One of the Illuminees, *Lullus*, tells us, that since several Masons and some even of the most zealous Rosicrucians, have been initiated in our mysteries, *one would think that the Order had acquired new life, and a much increased force of expansion or of propagation.** The Areopagite *Hannibal* attributes the success of his mission to the same cause. In the report he makes of his proceedings, he begins by congratulating himself on having found Masonic Lodges already established in the Tyrol. It was in them that he made his great conquests, that he recruited Counsellors of the Regency, Professors of Colleges, Counts, Excellencies, Ministers of the Emperor, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Masters of the Post-Office, Counsellors of the Government, all enthusiasts for the new mysteries of Illuminism. At the sight of such unexpected success, he openly confesses that they are all due to the new method introduced by *Philo*-Knigge. He then informs the Areopagites "that "*the experienced Masons are turning themselves on all* "*sides in quest of light*, that scarcely had he given the "slightest indication of it, before their hearts were inflamed, and their entreaties to be initiated were most "pressing. That it was just the moment for making "great conquests at Vienna, *where there must be more* "*than four hundred Masons.*" If at Milan he has not so good a prospect, it is because no *Masonic Lodges* have been established there; but he will find some at Cremona, Pavia, and other parts of Italy; and he ends by requesting that the other towns he means to visit may be comprehended in the new Geography of the Sect.†

In short, how does Knigge himself account for that prodigious multitude of adepts recruited in so short a period for Illuminism? "When I entered the Order (he

* *R. Lullus*'s Journal, Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Sect. VI.

† Orig. Writ. Vol. I. and II. *Hannibal*'s four Letters.

« writes to *Cato*-Zwack) you were all in the dark with « reſpect to *the Maſons of the ſtrict Obſervance.* I told « you ſo, and was poſitive that among them there were « excellent men (for us). *Spartacus* believed mè; and « the event has proved it. Our beſt adepts at Neuwied, « at Gottinguen, at Mayence, at Hanover, at Brunſwick, « and in the Palatinate, *were all formerly Free-maſons of* « *the Strict Obſervance.*"*

Nevertheleſs, theſe conqueſts on Maſonry made by Illuminiſm do not ſatisfy either *Philo*-Knigge or *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt. They will not even let the name of Maſonry exiſt, but as a cloak for their Illuminiſm. Let us then conſider of their new means and further ſucceſſes in the following Chapter.†

Q

* Unſere beſten leute in Neuwied, Göttinguen, Mainz, Hannover, Braunſchweig, Pfaltz, ſind ehemalige mitglieder der Strickten Obſervantz.

† For the whole of this chapter let the Reader apply to the Original Writings, Vol. II. Part I. and the Reports of the Provincials *(Provincial-Beriche)* from P. 159 to 221.

CHAP. VI.

New means practiſed, and new conqueſts made by Knigge and Weiſhaupt on Maſonry.—Diſputes between theſe two Chiefs of Illuminiſm.—Their deſigns on the German Maſons conſummated before Knigge's Retreat.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immenſe number of Maſons that had flocked to the ſtandard of Illuminiſm, Weiſhaupt and Knigge labored under ſome apprehenſions with reſpect to a new congreſs that had been appointed for the following year at Willemſbaden. Knigge particularly dreaded that new Code and new form that was in agitation for the Lodges. He knew that ſome of the Brethren had been named to make a digeſt of laws; nor could he forget, that others had received inſtructions from the Congreſs to gain admiſſion into, *and get themſelves received members of all the ſecret ſocieties, in order that they might be initiated into their myſteries*, and make their report at the following congreſs. Leſt all the fruits of his laſt miſſion at Willemſbaden ſhould be blaſted in the bud at this new meeting, Knigge ſought to make himſelf acquainted with the diſpoſitions, with regard to his Illuminiſm, of the commiſſaries nominated to make the new digeſt of laws.

Amelius Bode.

The chief of theſe commiſſaries was a man of the name of BODE, already famous in the annals of Maſonry, and who was ſoon to become more ſo in thoſe of Illuminiſm. —The ſon of a common ſoldier of Brunſwick, he was brought up as fifer of a regiment, but he ſoon thought himſelf deſtined to act a higher part in the world than to accompany a drum with the ſhrill ſounds of his fife. He had learned to read, and was ſufficiently acquainted with the French and the Engliſh languages to undertake ſome tranſlations. Thoſe of Triſtram Shandy and Yorick's Sentimental Journey gained him more credit than money; he then ſet up as a bookſeller at Hamburg; but ſoon becoming the widower of a rich heireſs, he abandoned trade, and was decorated by the Duke of Weimar with the title of Counſellor of Embaſſy. At length he was declared Privy Counſellor to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.

Created a *Commander* among the *Templar Maſons* under the title of Knight of the Lillies of the Valley, *Eques a Lilio convallium*, Bode had brought with him all that genius neceſſary to give importance to the games of their Equality and Liberty, and, above all, that concern which impiety and independence manifeſt, to diſcover their myſteries in the ſymbols of that ſame Equality and Liberty. The ſervices he had rendered to the Brethren may be appreciated by that which Knigge believed to be ſo much to his honor, when he ſays, that *nearly all the little good that is to be found in the ſyſtem of the Strict Obſervance is to be attributed to Bode*; or, in other words, every thing that aſſimilated their ſyſtem to that of Weiſhaupt. After having cloſely ſcrutinized his man, Knigge declares him to be advanced in years, but ſtill in queſt of truth which he had not yet been able to find, though he had been forty years a Maſon; he depicts him as indifferent to all ſyſtems, though petulent, fiery, and jealous of dominion, and as loving to be flattered by Princes. To this deſcription I may add from my German Memorials, that his exterior was unpoliſhed and almoſt deformed, which, however, did not hinder this old Maſon from acting the part of a wit and of a man of ſentiment with the Ladies. They alſo deſcribe him as a pedant, with an appearance of frankneſs that Princes miſtook for openneſs of character; but with which they might not have been ſo eaſily duped had they known, that though he ſought their favor, he as cordially hated them as he did what he called the *Mummeries of Religion, of Jeſuits, and of Prieſts.* Such ſentiments muſt neceſſarily have endeared him to the Illuminees. Knigge more particularly courted him on account of the great influence he enjoyed over the German Maſonry. Theſe two men ſcrutinized each other, and Knigge at length declares, that " after many mutual explanations " he had admitted him to the degree of Scotch Knight." Here Bode found all thoſe promiſes to forward the views of the Order, to reveal all his diſcoveries on Maſonry to his new Superiors, to inſtall the Illuminees in all the principal poſts of the Lodges, and to embezzle their funds. *None of theſe obligations appear to have given him any uneaſineſs*; but he feared, that in the end thoſe unknown Superiors would turn out to be Jeſuits and Prieſts. It was neceſſary, therefore, to remove ſuch fears, and to guarantee to him that thoſe Superiors deteſted Prieſts and

Jeſuits as much as he did himſelf. "On this condition "(ſays Knigge) he promiſed, *1ſt*, To labor for us, and, "by means of the new Syſtem or Code to be formed for "Maſonry, to throw the empire over the Lodges into our "hands. *2dly*, To put the Directories and provincial in- "ſpections, in as much as depended on him, into the hands "of the Illuminees. *3dly*, To prevail on the Brethren of "the *Strict Obſervance* to fraternize with us. *4thly*, In "the forming of the new Maſonic Code, never to loſe "ſight of the Illuminized plan for the choice of Maſters "or Venerables of Lodges. *5thly*, To lay before the Su- "periors all the knowledge he has acquired concerning "the origin of Maſonry and of the Roſicrucians; and to "cauſe the *Deductions* promiſed for the *Strict Obſervance* "to be printed at our preſſes, and to diſtribute them to "our Brethren according to agreement."*

Such promiſes from Bode were of too much conſe- quence to be rejected by the Illuminees; he was receiv- ed with open arms, and, under the characteriſtic of *Ame- lius*, was uſhered into the higher degrees. We ſhall ſoon ſee how faithfully he acquitted himſelf of his promiſes.

While Knigge was making ſuch important acquiſitions from Maſonry, Weiſhaupt was meditating another plan, that was to inſtall him maſter of all the Lodges of Poland. The Areopagite *Cato*-Zwack received nearly at the ſame time both Knigge's official note relative to Bode, and the following letter from Weiſhaupt: "I have a mind to un- "dertake the Poloneſe Confederation, not preciſely to Il- "luminize them, but merely as Free-maſonry to eſta- "bliſh *the Syſtem of Confederate Lodges*; to ſelect the a- "bleſt perſons; to get the ſtart of the *Strict Obſervance*, "and to deſtroy it. Write immediately to Warſaw, that "you are acquainted with ſeveral Lodges at Munich and "other towns, that are willing to confederate with them "on the following conditions:——*1ſt*, That they ſhould

Weiſhaupt's views on the Poliſh Maſons.

* Original Writings, Vol. II. *Philo's bericht uber jonien; Dimeh.* January, 1785.—If by *Deductions* the account of the contributions to be *deducted* for the *Grand Obſervance*, and afterward to be delivered over to the Illuminees, be not meant, I do not underſtand the meaning of them. But Bode reſerves to himſelf the diſcretionary power of letting other perſons participate of them; that is to ſay, he wiſhes to ſerve the Illuminees without appearing to have abandoned his former Brethren.—*(See Vol. III. of theſe Memoirs.)*

" acknowledge but the firſt three degrees—2*dly*, That " each Lodge ſhould be at liberty to have what Superiors " and as many of them as they pleaſed—3*dly*, That all " Lodges ſhould be independent of each other, at leaſt as " much ſo as the Lodges of Germany are of thoſe of Po- " land—4*thly*, That all their union ſhould be carried on " by the correſpondence and viſits of the Brethren.—If " we can but gain that point, we ſhall have ſucceeded in " all we want; *leave the reſt to me.*"

" *Philo* has already received inſtructions to prepare our " Lodges of the Rhine and of Lower Saxony for this " plan. Don't loſe a day; for both time and danger preſs. " *John is coming*, and the confederation will take place " at Vienna before that time. The Lodge * * appears as " if it would accede. . . Send to Warſaw the manifeſto " that is to be immediately circulated in the Lodges on " the occaſion. Without doubt the federation will be " numerous. *See how I can ſeize every occaſion and turn* " *every circumſtance to uſe.* As ſoon as you ſhall get an " anſwer ſend it to me; don't loſe a minute. The moſt " important buſineſs for us is, to eſtabliſh an *Eclectic* " Maſonry; if we ſucceed in that, 'tis all we want. Do " not mention our order at Warſaw; it is always deſir- " able to gain ſo eſſential a point. Send all your docu- " ments on Poland to *Philo.* A multitude of Lodges " would have joined us had they not dreaded to be taken " for *blind Lodges.* This arrangement will raiſe the diffi- " culty. The Engliſh Lodge of *Edeſſa* (Frankfort) has " already promiſed to accede to theſe conditions. Send " your diſpatches off immediately for Warſaw, without " tranſmitting them to me, that they may get there the " ſooner; and deſire an immediate anſwer."*

Though perſons who cannot gain admiſſion to Weiſhaupt's ſecret councils may not foreſee why he ſo earneſtly intereſts himſelf in this plan for the propagation of his conſpiracy, we may, however, remark, that Knigge had conceived the full importance of the meaſure, when a week after he writes to Zwack, " *That plan on Poland* " *is a moſt maſterly blow.* I have already ſent my draft of " the circular letter for the Lodges to *Spartacus.*" According to Weiſhaupt's plan, this circular letter was not intended for the Poliſh Maſons alone, but was to be ſent

* 11th January, 1783.

to all the Lodges of the Order. It is to be found in the second volume of the Original Writings, and is exactly that medley of artifice for the seduction of Masons which might be expected from its author. Knigge begins with a fulsome eulogy on their institution. He tells them, that their society *was intended by God and nature to reclaim the rights of humanity oppressed, of virtue persecuted, and of science degenerated.* In a story artfully intermixed with truth and falsehood, he endeavors to demonstrate how much the Order had swerved from its grand object for about twenty years past. To restore it, therefore, to its ancient splendor, he invites all Brethren fired with a true zeal to unite with those Masons who alone have remained in possession of the real mysteries, with a society formed for their preservation about the year 1762, and whose special object was to oppose the tyranny of the Brethren of the *Strict Observance*; in short, to join a society which he declares to be composed of the best heads of the Order, and of men whose science and experience would command the esteem and veneration of all that approached them.—At length, giving the plan for his new association, "In "the new regimen admitted by these real Masons (says "he) we invariably hold to the first three degrees.—Se- "veral Lodges unite together in the choice of one for "their *Scotch Directory*, or chief place of their district, "to which each sends a Deputy. This Directory decides "on money matters, overlooks objects of œconomy and "the raising of contributions, and grants powers for the "erecting of new Lodges. Above this tribunal we have "no Superiors who have a right to raise contributions; "they are only entitled to an exact account every three "months of the moral and political state of every Lodge. "A certain number of *Scotch Directories* join to chuse a "*Provincial Directory*, three of the latter elect an In- "spector, and three Inspectors chuse the National Di- "rector.

"This is not the place for expatiating on what we have "already done in the silent abodes of secrecy, or on what "we mean to do. It will suffice to say, that we have "schools to form the young men whom we afterward ad- "mit into our Order, and who are destined to labor to "procure happier and more tranquil days for the rising "generation. The care we bestow on these pupils is in "our eyes the most honorable part of our labors. Should

" the Lodges wiſh for any further particulars, they ſhall " receive them from the very perſons who have thought " proper to propoſe this plan."*

The memorials before us are not ſufficiently explicit to enable us to decide what effect Zwack's and Knigge's letters produced on the Poliſh Maſons. In Zwack's note, however, on the *progreſs of the Brethren* we may obſerve, *that the Areopage was in treaty for a ſtrict alliance with the National Lodge of Poland.* With reſpect to Germany, we are not left in the dark as to the ſucceſs of theſe artifices; but then it is to Bode particularly that ſuch ſucceſſes are attributed. Through his means it was, that Knigge acquired powerful protectors with the Maſons of high rank, and particularly with the committee that was to frame the new code. By the help of ſuch protection he ſo amazingly extended the number of the adepts, that Weiſhaupt pretended to be alarmed, or was ſo in reality. The deſpotic founder viewed with a jealous eye the aſcendant that Knigge was daily acquiring, and the great encomiums beſtowed on him by the adepts in their *Quibus Licets.* Beſide, his profound policy led him to conceive that his power would be too much divided by that of Knigge's, to enſure him ſovereign ſway over his tenebrous meetings, and to preſerve that unity of object and of action which his projects required. This multitude of adepts ſuddenly initiated into the higher myſteries kept him in a ſtate of continual alarm. Among theſe new diſciples ſome might be found who, not having undergone the neceſſary trials, might expoſe both himſelf and all the conſpiracies of his Sect to be diſcovered. Though Knigge had faithfully copied (as the reader has ſeen) all the profligate myſteries that Weiſhaupt had invented in the degree of Epopt, yet this illuminizing chief did not ſcruple to accuſe the Baron of having weakened them; the fact was, that he could not forgive him for having participated in the glory of founding the Order. He even pretended that Knigge was privately laying the foundations of another ſecret ſociety.† Theſe reflections weighed ſo heavily on the mind of the deſpotic chief, that all on a ſudden Knigge found himſelf depoſed at the very inſtant when he was

Quarrels between Weiſhaupt and Knigge.

* Extract from the Circular Letter, Original Writings, Vol. II. Part II. Sect. VI.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 10.

moſt elated with his ſucceſſes in the ſervice of the Order.

Weiſhaupt took from him the direction of his provinces, and made him ſubject to ſome of his own pupils. —The manner in which Knigge received this humbling news cannot be better deſcribed than in his own letters to Weiſhaupt and to Zwack. The latter had attempted to reconcile theſe two terrible competitors, particularly by affecting to throw the whole blame of their diſagreements on *Mahomet* and another brother. "It is neither *Maho-* "*met* nor that other brother (ſays Knigge to *Cato*), but "it is that *Jeſuitiſm* of Weiſhaupt, that occaſions all our "broils and diſputes. It is that deſpotiſm which he exer- "ciſes over men perhaps leſs powerful in imagination, "art, and cunning than himſelf, but equal to him at leaſt "in good-will, prudence, uprightneſs, and probity; over "men who have rendered the moſt important ſervices, "without which his Order would ſtill have been a piti- "ful medley of boys. Long ſince have I obſerved his in- "tention of deceiving me; but I am firmly reſolved "to make him feel, notwithſtanding my exceſſive pati- "ence and obedience, that there are men who are not to "be played upon with impunity. I therefore declare, "that nothing can ever put me again on the ſame foot- "ing with *Spartacus* on which I was before; *but as long* "*as I live I will do every thing in my power for the* "*good of the Order*; *and ye* (the Areopagites), *my beſt* "*of friends*, ye ſhall always find me ready to obey ye in "every thing conducive to the ſame object."

After this exordium Knigge proceeds to enumerate every thing that he had done for Weiſhaupt, in the perfecting of the Code, the founding of Lodges, and the recruiting of Brethren. "I had actually recruited *five hun-* "*dred* (he continues) when he choſe to view me in the "light of an indifferent being, who was ruining his af- "fairs by my want of reflection. Without giving me any "intimation, he began to correſpond with my inferiors. "I have ſeen ſome of his letters to my pupils, in which "he treats me as a novice.—At preſent I am under the "direction of *Minos*, and am to ſend him my *Quibus* "*Licet* every month. Without being an ambitious man, "I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould put up with ſuch affronts, "and allow myſelf to be led like a ſcholar by a profeſſor "of Ingolſtadt. And certainly with reſpect to him I look

" upon myſelf as diſpenſed from all obedience. With re-
" gard to you, ready to obey the ſlighteſt intimation of
" your wiſhes, I conſent to continue to direct the pro-
" vinces of *Heſſe* and *Upper Saxony*, until every thing is
" properly organized in thoſe countries. I ſhall then re-
" tire, prompt, notwithſtanding, to ſerve you with all my
" might, either by night or by day."

This letter is dated the 20th of January, 1783, and is immediately followed by another to the ſame adept. The latter ſhows how painful it was to Knigge to abandon the Brethren; but at length he writes to Zwack, " Were I
" to give way to an imprudent vengeance? reflect on this
" at leaſt.

" It was by order of *Spartacus* (auf Spartacus geheiſs)
" that I wrote againſt the *ci-devant Jeſuiſts* and againſt
" the *Roſicrucians*, neither of whom had ever done me
" any harm. It was by his orders that I ſpread diſſenſions
" among the Maſons of the *Strict Obſervance*, and ſe-
" duced their ableſt brethren. I inſtilled into them ſtrong
" ideas of the antiquity, the excellence and power of our
" Order, of the perfection of our Superiors, of the irre-
" proachable manners of the Brethren, of the importance
" of our myſteries, and of the ſincerity and purity of our
" intentions. Many of thoſe who at preſent labor moſt
" efficaciouſly for our Order, were under conſtant appre-
" henſions that we were leading them to Deiſm. *Little*
" *by little, however, I do what I pleaſe.* Now were I to
" inform the Jeſuits and the Roſicrucians of their real
" perſecutor; were I ſimply to let ſome certain perſons
" into the ſecret of the inſignificant novelty of the Order;
" were I to inform them that I compoſed parts of the de-
" grees; were I to tell them how I am treated after the
" many ſervices I have rendered; were I to make them
" acquainted with the *Jeſuitiſm* of that man who leads us
" all by the noſe, and ſacrifices us to his ambition whenever
" he pleaſes; were I to inform the ſecret-hunters that
" they will not find that which they are in queſt of; were
" I to let thoſe who love religion into the ſecret of the
" founder's religious principles; were I to ſound the a-
" larm to Free-maſons concerning an aſſociation ſet on
" foot by the Illuminees; were I myſelf to eſtabliſh an
" Order on a more ſolid, clear, diſintereſted plan, whoſe
" object ſhould be honeſty and liberty; were I to attract
" the many able men whom I am acquainted with into

" this Order; were I to place certain perſons in your's " who would inform me in future of every thing that was " tranſacting in it; were I to give a hint only in *Greece* " (Bavaria) that ſhould at once diſcloſe the founder and " his Order; were I to ſound the alarm to Princes by " means of *Numenius* and the Roſicrucians at *Rome* (Vi- " enna):—I ſhudder at the idea! No, I will not carry " vengeance to ſuch lengths; but if I do not obtain ſatis- " faction, I will take ſuch ſteps as my honor requires.— " Let me once more enjoy that unlimited confidence that " I formerly enjoyed, and then I ſhall be ready to under- " take great things for the Order again. I am perfectly " acquainted with our people; I know what attaches each " one to the Order, and what engines ſhould be ſet in " motion either to excite their enthuſiaſm or ſuddenly to " cruſh it. Once more I repeat it; if I am left at liberty " to act, I will anſwer upon my head to put the Order " immediately in poſſeſſion, 1ſt, *of moſt important ſecrets*; " 2dly, *of a ſtrong preponderance over the Maſons of the* " Strict Obſervance, *or, rather, of means abſolutely to de-* " *ſtroy them*; 3dly, *of a great influence over the Maſons* " *of* Zimmendorf's ſyſtem; 4thly, *I promiſe to put the Or-* " *der in poſſeſſion of great riches, and of great power, and* " *that without making any alterations in our conſtitu-* " *tions.*"

So far from allowing himſelf to be ſoothed by theſe promiſes, or affrighted by theſe menaces, which Zwack was to tranſmit to Ingolſtadt, Weiſhaupt appeared to become more inflexible. He knew his agents too well; he was certain that Knigge could never bring himſelf to betray him; and indeed he muſt have betrayed himſelf in denouncing his chief. That adept, without doubt, might have deſerted him and carried many of the brethren with him; and Weiſhaupt would have preferred ſuch extremities rather than have had rebel adepts, particularly competitors under him. " What care I (he writes) for all " that multitude of unmanageable adepts who wiſh to be " guided by no other rule than their fancy?". . . . . At other times he would write, " It is by means of thoſe who " will obey me, that *I muſt perform moſt aſtoniſhing things.* " I anſwer for nothing when I meet with reſiſtance from " my adepts; I have foreſeen every thing, and I have pre- " pared every thing. Let my whole Order go to rack and " ruin; in three years I will anſwer to reſtore it, and that

" to a more powerful ſtate than it is in at preſent.—Ob-
" ſtacles only ſtimulate my activity. I know how to turn
" them to my advantage; and when people ſhall think
" that I am undone, even then ſhall I riſe ſtronger than
" ever. Let that perſon leave me who thinks he can bet-
" ter himſelf elſewhere; and time will ſhew who is mis-
" taken. I know how to find men more docile. I can ſa-
" crifice whole provinces, the deſertion of a few individ-
" uals, therefore, will not alarm me."*

Thus firm and conſtant in his determination to enforce obedience, Weiſhaupt left Knigge under an interdict; he continued to tranſmit all orders to him through the medium of his inferiors; he even ſo far ſet him at defiance, as to refuſe to give him the watchword and the quarterly ſign; ſo that he might almoſt look upon himſelf as expelled the Order. If he deigned to write to him, it was in a tone only calculated to add to his humiliation; and Knigge himſelf actually thought all his intercourſe with this overbearing Deſpot had been broken off when he received a letter ſtill more imperious and injurious than ever. *Philo's* anſwer is remarkable; and I will lay it before my readers; not that I think it important to deſcribe all the jealouſies and inteſtine broils that may very well be called the rogues quarrel, but becauſe it ſhows how well in the midſt of all their diſputes theſe fellows knew each other, and how they drew together when the misfortunes of nations were in queſtion; it ſhows alſo how they vied with each other, and placed all their merit in the deſtruction of the altar and the throne, and in having abuſed the confidence of Princes; ſuch were the mighty deeds on which they grounded their rights of pre-eminence in their dark dens of rebellion.

This letter from Knigge to Weiſhaupt was written at ſucceſſive periods during his excurſion from Frankfort to Caſſel, to Brunſwick, and Neuterhauſen. He begins it, dated at Caſſel, 25th February, 1783.

" An unforeſeen circumſtance occaſions my writing to
" you. Read my letter without paſſion, with impartiality,
" and as coolly as you are able. I own that, as late even
" as yeſterday, until I had received your Excellency's let-
" ter I little thought we were ever to correſpond togeth-
" er again. I am perfectly reſolved to wait but for one

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 8, to *Cato*.

" more anſwer; and if it is in the ſame tone that you " have lately taken with me, nothing ſhall hinder me " from abſolutely breaking off all connexion with you. " Do not pretend to think that this is an idle threat. I " am aware that you can do without me; but I alſo know, " or am at leaſt willing to think, that your conſcience will " riſe in judgment againſt you, if you continue without " reaſon to reject a man who has been your moſt active " co-operator. What am I to underſtand when you ſay " that you can begin the whole over again, and that with " new agents? To be ſure you may try; but were you " really to undertake it, you would ceaſe in my eyes to " be that man whom I was willing to believe endowed " with prudence. The points to which I wiſh to call " your attention require a general view of our reſpective " ſituations. Let us addreſs each other freely.

" *You* have injured me; you know it; but you will " not own it, becauſe you are afraid of loſing your con- " ſequence were you to ſay, I have really behaved ſhame- " fully ill to that man. You wiſh to perſuade both your- " ſelf and others that you are indifferent to my ſtaying " with you or not, for that I am not fit for ſo great an " undertaking; though you well know, that we both have " our failings; that men muſt be taken as they are; that " no one would proceed far, if he were to change co-ope- " rators every ſix months. To make ſhort of the matter, " you would be ſorry to ſee me abandon you, and found " another ſociety; but you are unwilling to appear to " ſtand in need of me.

" Now for *Me:* I have not the vanity to pretend, that " a man of a ſuperior underſtanding to my own ſhould " ſo debaſe himſelf as to aſk me pardon. But I could wiſh " you to reflect on the following circumſtances:—I am " certain that I have acted according to my conſcience, " and on a ſolid plan. I defy any perſon to point out to " me thoſe indiſcretions by which I am ſuppoſed to have " done the Order irreparable evil. So far from it, I have " engaged men of the moſt tranſcendant merit in its ſer- " vice. If in many hundred recruits any are to be found " who are not exactly what they ought to be, your own " conduct will plead my excuſe, ſince you have entruſted " *me* with the government of five provinces, *a perſon* that " you at preſent upbraid as a heedleſs giddy young fellow. " In ſhort, I have acted as I ought to have done. That

" you ſhould acknowledge this, I do not deſire; but I " really wiſh to ſee you convinced of it. Our union ſhould " be grounded on a reciprocal and boundleſs confidence. " —If you are unwilling to grant me yours, remember at " leaſt that I am not to be led like a machine. I there- " fore retire, not through an ill-judged delicacy, but be- " cauſe I can be of no uſe to you, and that I know perſons " to whom I can be of great uſe, and who place unbound- " ed confidence in me.

" Now to the point: *I can inform you, that laſt night* " *I brought my grand plan to a ſtate of maturity.* Mark me, " therefore: ſince I have quitted the government of my " provinces, *great things have been the objects of my la-* " *bors, letters, and conferences. For this week paſt I* " *have had here (at Caſſel) ſeveral private interviews* " *with the* P— C— of H— C—," (Prince Charles of " Heſſe Caſſel, brother in law to the King of Denmark). " *All this taken together* has enabled me to fulfil the fol- " lowing promiſes, *provided I am treated as I think I* " *am entitled to be.*"

Theſe promiſes of Knigge are nearly the ſame as thoſe already mentioned in his letter to *Cato*-Zwack. He adds, however, ſome few points that are eſſential; for example, he does not only promiſe to diſcover to the Illuminees *the real object of Maſonry and of the Roſicrucians*, but *to make it a part of the higher degrees of Weiſhaupt's myſteries.* This addition is not an indifferent indication on the occult myſteries of Maſonry. Without having been a Roſicrucian, *Philo*-Knigge had long applied to their myſteries before his admiſſion into Illuminiſm. He had ſtudied them as *Commander* and *Knight Templar*, but had not been able to dive into their laſt myſteries. It was reſerved to Bode, to that man known by all Germany to have been one of their moſt zealous and learned Maſons, to initiate Knigge in theſe myſteries; and we muſt hence conclude, that few of the brethren were acquainted with them; but no ſooner are they diſcovered to *Philo*, than he conceives them to be worthy of being blended with thoſe of Weiſhaupt. Theſe occult myſteries, therefore, of the Roſicrucians can fall little ſhort of the baneful machinations of Illuminiſm; and all that jealouſy that ſtill rages between the Roſicrucians and Illuminees may be ſaid to be only a rivalſhip for hireling primacy. No longer do I pretend to diſpute with Brother Dupe on the ex-

iſtence of theſe hideous myſteries; on the contrary, I will compliment him on his ſtill having ſufficient virtue left to be refuſed admiſſion; but I will inſiſt on the abſolute neceſſity and duty of abandoning any aſſociation that can have nurtured the abominable and impious plots, the diſcovery of which is the cauſe of ſo much exultation in theſe arch-conſpirators.

On the ſame conditions Knigge promiſes Weiſhaupt *to diſcover to the Order certain ſecrets of Nature, ſecrets* (ſays he) *at once aſtoniſhing, marvellous*, and *productive*, and all this without being miracles.* He alſo ſpecifies the means by which the Illuminees are to acquire power and wealth; it is *the liberty and a licence to trade in Denmark, Holſtein, and other ſtates, with the neceſſary funds for the enterprize.* In ſhort, his promiſes againſt the Roſicrucians is accompanied with the promiſe of a powerful party againſt the Jeſuits.†

This letter remained in his port-folio until his return from Caſſel to Brunſwick; he there continues it on the 10th of March: "The D— F— of B—, (Duke Ferdinand of Brunſwick) has called me to this town to confer with me on different ſubjects. I will ſay more of this on a future occaſion, let us revert to the moſt preſſing buſineſs. I have already ſaid it, and I repeat it again without any diſguiſe, here are my conditions: If you reſtore me to your confidence, all will be terminated, and this whole buſineſs remains a ſecret between us. From this inſtant I not only engage to attach myſelf ſtronger than ever to the order, but I alſo promiſe and guarantee to it a power of which it can have no conception.

"Should you refuſe to rely on me, from that inſtant our union is diſſolved; I erect another ſociety on much ſtronger bonds. But no threats. Think of it, and weigh it coolly."

Knigge alſo takes time to reflect; and on the 26th of March he continues from Neuterhauſen: "I am here again. . . Once more I ſay, *if you know your own intereſt the world is ours*; if not, may the conſequences of your ſcandalous proceedings fall upon you. But no; I ſtill rely on your prudence, fate leads us admirably. I

* Erſtaunlich und einträglich, obgleich keine wunder.

† Eine mächtige parthey gegen jeſuiten.

" have great things before me; I have prodigious ones " in view.—It is in your power to partake of them. I " have not as yet taken a ſingle ſtep againſt you. I hope " your conduct will give me reaſon to write to *Athens*, " that I had formed a wrong opinion of you."

On the 27th of the ſame month another poſtſcript in the following terms: " I was juſt going to ſend my let- " ter, when I received this Order, which you ſend me by " F... Oh! you ought not to have taken ſuch a ſtep. " You wiſh then to drive me to all extremities? Upon " my word you will gain nothing by it. Reflect on the " importance, I may venture to ſay, that I have given to " your aſſociation. Were I now to diſcover to certain " perſons your whole hiſtory, and *your principles ſo dan-* " *gerous for the world*, and declare that I was obliged " to moderate them by every means in my power, who " would not ſhun you? *What is your degree of Epopt in* " *compariſon with your means of attaining a good object* " (that is to ſay in compariſon to the principle, *all means* " *are good when the end is good?*)—What is it, I ſay, " when compared with your ſcandalous injuſtice towards " Wolter and Levelling?—O! what are men?—Good " God! were you a Jeſuit yourſelf? I tremble to think " of it; but ſhould that be the caſe all Hell ſhould not " ſave you from my claws."

Laſt Poſtſcript of the 31ſt: " Do not hurry yourſelf " to anſwer me. *Cato* may tranſmit certain things to you " that may make you change your mind. Take care of " yourſelf *cave ne cadas*. Vengeance is a thing that I " ſhall with great difficulty reſiſt."*

All theſe letters depict Knigge as an adept determined to withdraw himſelf at length from the deſpotiſm of the modern *Spartacus*; not indeed to abandon his plots, but in order to lay the baſis of new aſſociations of Conſpirators: In the midſt of all theſe broils, it is worthy of remark, that the injured competitor in his letters to Weiſhaupt and to Zwack intermixes anſwers and advice on every thing that can tend to propagate the Order. In his poſtſcript of the 26th of March, forgetting on a ſudden all his anger againſt Weiſhaupt, he informs him, that Brother *Accatius* ſolicits letters of recommendation and directions to the Brethren of Italy for another adept who

* Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 1, 2, and 3, from *Philo*.

is going to second Brother *Hannibal* in his miſſion to thoſe countries. "This affair (ſays Knigge) is of the "higheſt importance to the Order; for our man is an "excellent Scrutator; and I do aſſure you that ſpecial good "news is come relating to the Monks of Italy." Moſt certainly, diſcontented Monks of the ſtamp of Dom Gerles might be found there; but before they could be enrolled an article of the Code which excludes them from the Order was to be diſpenſed with. As I have already obſerved, however, Knigge was always leſs ſcrupulous than Weiſhaupt on the article of exceptions. In theſe ſame letters he warns the Areopagites to pay particular attention to the affairs of the Order at Vienna; and informs them, that he has important news from that country; and with reſpect to Poland, though he may be acquainted with no perſon who could forward the federation, he had *people at leaſt in Livonia*. And in his official reports we find that he had a miſſionary in that part of Ruſſia, *who from ſo great a diſtance perhaps might not ſend his Quibus Licets exactly and monthly*; but who would labor for the Order perhaps with more ſucceſs than any of its Apoſtles.*

Such tenderneſs for the welfare of the Order, and zeal for the propagation of its plots, evidently demonſtrates that Knigge, ſo far from abandoning it, expected to reaſſume his former rank. It appears ſtill clearer in the letter he wrote to *Cato* by the very ſame poſt, by which he had ſent all his menaces to Weiſhaupt: "I have great "views indeed for our Order, and that makes me forget "all the injuries I have received from Spartacus. I do "not wiſh him to own that he is in the wrong, but only "that he ſhould know that the fault lies with him." The letter ends by conſtituting *Cato* judge of the conteſt.†— Weiſhaupt needed no more to convince him that this warfare would terminate to his advantage. He did not wiſh to loſe *Philo*, but ſtill leſs could he bear him as a rival. "If *Philo* (Weiſhaupt ſays to Zwack) will return "to me, and confeſs that he is in the wrong, he will find "me ſuch as I formerly was in his regard. But for your "part do not ſhow the leaſt eagerneſs to reclaim him. I "wiſh to prove to him that I can do without him; his

* Aber er wird würken wie noch keiner gewürkt hat.

† Worüber ſie, beſter *Cato!* Richter ſeyn mögen.

" vanity muſt not be flattered; he wants to be entreated; " and it is exactly for that reaſon that he ſhould not be " entreated.—If he has the good of the cauſe at heart, he " will return of his own accord, and I will receive him " with open arms."*

The *good of the cauſe*, as Weiſhaupt calls it (that is, the propagation and triumph of Illuminiſm with all its impious plots), was evidently as dear to Knigge as to himſelf. This mutual bias to crime reconciled them together again, at leaſt, for a ſpace of time ſufficient to acquire for Illuminiſm the greater part of that authority which Knigge had promiſed to the Areopagites. It is true, that he tells us he had obtained his diſmiſſion, and an honorable teſtimony of his ſervices. It may be a fact that he received his diſmiſſion, as he ſays, on the expreſs conditions, that he would never undertake any thing detrimental to the intereſts or *plans* of the Illuminees; that he would keep a profound ſilence with reſpect to the ſecrets of the Brethren; that he would never do any thing that could commit the ſuperiors, and not even ſo much as name them;† but certain it is, that the date coincides with the time of the diſcoveries made at Munich, which muſt have induced him to take ſuch precautions as he judged neceſſary to avoid being implicated with the other chiefs of the Illuminees. He declares that he received his *congé* on the firſt of June, 1784, and the firſt decrees iſſued by the Elector of Bavaria againſt Secret Societies bear date of the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month. Four months after we ſee *Philo*-Knigge mentioned by Weiſhaupt as an adept, without the leaſt alluſion to his retreat, and this may create ſome doubt at leaſt as to the date. Whatever may have been the caſe, fourteen months elapſed from the time of their grand diſputes, till that when Knigge declares he broke off all connection with the Illuminees. Hereafter we ſhall ſee what is to be underſtood by this pretended dereliction of his former Brethren. It is however certain, that during thoſe fourteen months, he but too well entitled himſelf to the gratitude of the Sect by the new ſervices he rendered, and more particularly by his intrigues with Bode, by means of which he conſummated Wei-

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 24.

† Seine obern weder zu nennen noch zu compromittiren.

ſhaupt's plan of confederation or of intruſion in all the Lodges of Germany.

The federation of the Maſons and Illuminees continued.

The grand obſtacle to theſe plans was the jealouſy of the Roſicrucians, of the Brethren of *the Strict Obſervance*, and of the *Philaletes*, calling themſelves the Theoſophical Illuminees. But the acquiſition of Bode; Knigge's frequent viſits to their Highneſſes the Duke Ferdinand of Brunſwick and the Prince Charles of Heſſe-Caſſel; the manner in which he impoſed on theſe two chiefs of German Maſonry; the influence acquired by *Philo* thro' the means of Bode over the Commiſſaries who were named at Willemſbaden to frame the laws, are circumſtances more than ſufficient to account for his ſucceſs in ſpite of ſuch numerous opponents. When Bode was thoroughly convinced that Illuminiſm, ſo far from being an invention of Jeſuits and Prieſts, was no other than a moſt determined conſpiracy againſt Princes and the Prieſthood, which he equally hated; when he beheld the means of its developing themſelves in the degrees of *Epopt* and of *Regent*, he then had no other view than to perform the promiſe he had made to Knigge, *to dedicate his life entirely* to the ſervice of the Order, and particularly *to have its intereſts at heart in the framing of the new Code.* Never was promiſe more religiouſly kept, nor attended with greater ſucceſs. With reſpect to thoſe Brethren whoſe antique myſteries perpetually recalled to their minds Equality and Liberty, nothing could be more ſeducing than Knigge's circular letter on *Eclective* or *Elective* Maſonry. Many Lodges had of their own accord acceded to his federation. Bode introduced its laws into the *new Maſonic Ritual.* It was on ſeeing theſe laws that the Maſon who beſt foreſaw their conſequences exclaims, in the bitterneſs of his heart: "Oh, my Brethren! At what point ſhall I be-"gin, or where ſhall I end, when I ſpeak to you of that "Bode known among the Illuminees by the name of *A-*"*melius?* Judge, my Brethren, of the important, I would "ſay diſaſtrous ſervices he went to render them; he, who "has been in habits of intimacy with ſo many of our "Brethren; he who had taken ſo great a lead in moſt of "our general meetings; he, who, under an affectation of "good nature and of German uprightneſs, concealed a "heart replete with the moſt heinous impiety, and a fran-"tic enthuſiaſm for Naturaliſm; he, again, who had tak-"en offence at the Brethren of the *Strict Obſervance* be-

" cauſe they had not fatiated his ambition. What an ac-
" quiſition in all reſpects was this man for the Illumi-
" nees!—His firſt efforts were directed againſt us. He
" acted where Knigge could not gain admittance. *It was*
" *through his means that the Illuminees gained their as-*
" *cendency in the new ſyſtem that was to have been eſta-*
" *bliſhed at Willemſbaden; that they gained admittance*
" *into our Directories; and that they ſucceeded in frater-*
" *nizing with the greater part of our Brethren of the*
" *Strict Obſervance.* His Inſinuator Knigge had left him
" no alternative but to bring over Free-maſonry to this
" unfortunate alliance, or to cruſh the Brotherhood. To
" the aſtoniſhment and grief of every true Maſon, it was
" by the combined efforts of Bode and Knigge, that the
" greater part of the Lodges throughout Germany were
" tainted and infected with this baneful Illuminiſm."*

I often meet with ſimilar avowals and lamentations in the different letters and memorials that I have received from German Maſons, heretofore zealous for the honor of their Brotherhood, but now lamenting the intruſion of the Bavarian peſt among them. Some few Lodges, however, held out againſt it. That of Berlin, called *of the Three Globes*, in 1783, publiſhed a circular letter, anathematizing all Brethren who ſhould pretend to degrade Free-maſonry ſo as to transform it into a ſociety of men conſpiring againſt their God and their country. Whether this Lodge had not been initiated into the laſt myſteries of the Roſicrucians and other conſpiring degrees, or whether this anathema was but a ſham, the circular letter had but little effect. The intruſion continued, and became ſo general, that the illuminizing Sect in its inſtructions to the *Directing Illuminees* makes uſe of the following formidable expreſſions: " *Of all the legitimate*
" *Lodges in Germany, there is* ONLY ONE *that has not*
" *coaleſced with our Superiors*, and this Lodge has been
" obliged to ſuſpend its labors."†

This declaration does not imply that the greater number of the Brethren were already illuminized, but only denotes that the Superiors, whether *Maſters*, *Wardens*, or *Treaſurers*, of almoſt every Lodge had entered into the federation with Weiſhaupt.—But what an awful aſpect

* Diſcourſe of a Maſter on the ultimate fate of Free-maſonry.

† Degree of Directing Illuminee, Sect. 3, No. 5.

does this ſubterraneous power preſent!—A multitude of emiſſaries and agents diſperſed throughout the tenebrous receſſes of Maſonry. The Superiors once gained over, the Lodges would make but a feeble and ſhort reſiſtance.

The greater part of theſe ſucceſſes were to be attributed to *Philo*-Knigge; neither did he hide thoſe pretenſions that could indicate the rival. Weiſhaupt could not brook the moſt diſtant appearance of rivality; new conteſts aroſe between the two chiefs. Knigge at length abandoned, or pretended to abandon, the Order. It does not appear that Weiſhaupt ſhowed the leaſt regret. His power ſeemed to be built on foundations that could not be ſhaken by any ſtorm:—it was no longer confined to a corner of Germany.* The Danube and the Rhine could no longer bound it. In the North and the Eaſt he had his emiſſaries, in Holland, Poland, and Livonia.† His apoſtles in the South had already advanced from Milan to Venice.‡ On the Weſt he was beginning his attacks on France by the way of Straſbourg.§ But juſt at this period was preparing that ſtorm which in the annals of the Sect ſhall be called the Third Epoch.

* That the reader may form a clear and preciſe idea of the manner in which theſe different Lodges and Illuminees on their ſeveral miſſions correſponded with their chief, I think it right to ſubjoin the *Geographical and Political Chart* of the Sect, ſuch as it was drawn out by Knigge in the Original Writings. I know this plate only comprehends Germany, and that without the Auſtrian Provinces, "becauſe (ſays Knigge) *the Brethren of thoſe Provinces have petitioned to have a ſeparate National Director.*" But every reader can apply a ſimilar one to any other ſtate. To complete it, I have added Weiſhaupt in direct communication with the Areopagites, and the latter with the National Directors.—A very ſlight inſpection will ſuffice to ſhow, how inſtructions, communications, &c. paſs to and from the General, down to the Scotch Directories, and from the latter to the loweſt individual of Illuminiſm.

† Philo's Bericht.

‡ See Juridical Depoſitions made at Munich.

§ Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 23, to *Cato*, 28th January, 1783.

Geographical and Political Chart of the Illuminized German Lodges.

SPARTACUS-WEISHAUPT,
the General of all
ILLUMINISM,
corresponds with, and gives his orders
to
The Arcopagites,
who transmit their orders
to
The National Director
of all GERMANY,
who directs - - - - the

- First Inspector *who inspects the*
  - Provincial of Bavaria *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Munich - - - *for* The Dutchy of Bavaria.
    - Saltzburg - - — The Archbishopric of Saltzburg.
    - Ratisbon - - — Ratisbon, Passau, Sternberg, Ortenburg, Leuchtenberg, Sulzbach.
    - Freysinguen - — The Upper Palatinate, Freysinguen, Neuburg.
  - Provincial of Swabia *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Augsburg - - *for* Augsburg, Costanz, Kempten.
    - Stutgard - - - — Wurtemberg, Zollern, and the Imperial Towns.
    - Oettinguin - - — Oettinguen, Furstemberg, the Abbeys, and Imperial Towns.
    - Charlsruhe - - — Baaden, and the Seignorial and Imperial Towns.
  - Provincial of Franconia *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Aichstadt - - *for* Aichstadt, the Country of Bareith, and the Imperial Towns.
    - Wurtzburg - — Wurtzburg and Bamberg.
    - Bareith - - - — Bareith, the Counties and Lordships.
    - Memmingen - — The Towns of the Teutonic Order and Henneberg.
- Second Inspector *who inspects the*
  - Provincial of the Electorates of the Rhine *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Manheim *or* Heidelberg } *for* The Palatinate of the Rhine.
    - Mentz - - - — The Electorate and Beilstein.
    - Treves *or* Coblenz } - — The Archbishopric of Treves.
    - Bonn *or* Cologn } - - — Cologn, Aremberg, Reineck, Isenburg.
  - Provincial of the Circle of the Upper Rhine *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Cassel - - - *for* The Landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel.
    - Wetzlar - - - — Veteravia, and the Seignorial and Imperial Towns.
    - Frankfort - - — Frankfort, Fulda, Hanover, Isenburg.
    - Darmstadt - - — Darmstadt, Homburg, Usinguen.
    - Spire - - - - — Spire, Worms, Deux-Ponts.
  - Provincial of Westphalia *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Neuwied - - *for* The Countries of the Wied, of Seyn, Mœurs, Thorn, Essen.
    - Munster - - - — Osnabruck, Juliers, Cleves.
    - Paderborn - - — Paderborn, Minden, Corvey, Nassau.
    - Oldenburg - - — Ferden, Hoya, Schauenburg.
- Third Inspector *who inspects the*
  - Provincial of Upper Saxony *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Dresden *or* Leipsic } *for* The Electorate of Saxony and the Provostship of Zeitz.
    - Berlin - - - - - — Brandenburg and Pomerania.
    - Weimar *or* Gotha } - — The Dutchy of Saxony and Principality of Schwartzburg.
    - Dessau - - - - - — Anhalt, Mansfield, Stolberg, and Querfurt.
  - Provincial of Lower Saxony *who superintends the - -* Scotch Directories *of*
    - Hanover - - - *for* The Electorate, Celle, Grubenhagen.
    - Brunswick - - — Wolfenbuttel, Magdeburg, Halberstadt.
    - Bremen - - - — Bremen, the Holstein, Hamburg, Hildesheim.
    - Strelitz - - - — Mecklenburg, Lubeck, Ratzeburg.

[*To face page* 140.]

CHAP. VII.

Third Epoch of Illuminiſm. Diſcovery of the Sect.

IT was not without reaſon that Weiſhaupt had expreſſed his apprehenſions as to the precipitate manner in which Knigge had admitted ſo many candidates to the myſteries of the Sect: on the other hand, Knigge might with equal reaſon upbraid Weiſhaupt with want of prudence in recommending to the adepts ſuch books as thoſe publiſhed under the name of Boulanger; and thus diſcloſing his atheiſm previous to the laſt myſteries.* But ſucceſs had ſo emboldened Weiſhaupt, that he kept no farther reſerve on the ſcore of religion, even with his Minerval ſcholars; and ſo early as the year 1781, the court of Bavaria entertained ſome ſuſpicions of this new Sect. It had even ordered certain inquiries to be made; but the Illuminees had art enough to baffle theſe inqueſts.†—Leſt, however, any enquiries ſhould at any future time take place, Weiſhaupt bethought himſelf of making the Elector the tutelarly adept of his conſpiracies. "I am of "opinion (would he write to his Areopagites) that in "order to ſtrengthen ourſelves, you ſhould ſend a depu- "tation to the Elector, to offer him the Protectorate of "the Eclectic Lodges. The Brethren *Ulyſſes*, *Apollo*, "and ſome others of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members, "even *Celſus* for inſtance, might be deputed for this pur- "poſe. Should the Prince accept it, we ſhall be effectu- "ally ſkreened from any future perſecution, and nobody "will then be afraid of joining you, or of frequenting "your Lodges."‡

The exiſtence of Illuminiſm ſurmiſed.

Weiſhaupt's means for preventing any proceſs.

The reader may eaſily judge how ſuch a deputation would have been received by the Elector, when he is informed of the manner in which he had formerly received a ſimilar propoſition while reſiding at Manheim. One of his miniſters at that time, under a far more plauſible pre-

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 2, from *Philo* to *Cato*.
† Ibid. Let. 1, from *Epictetus*.
‡ Orig. Writ. Let. 1, to *Epictetus*, 7th Feb. 1783.

tence, propoſed to him to call to his court the moſt famous Philoſophers of the day, and to grant penſions to theſe pretended great men, after the example of Lewis XIV. who had been the protector of the learned men of his age. The glory of ſuch an undertaking ſeemed at firſt to flatter the Prince; but on conſulting men of real learning he ſoon perceived that ſuch a meaſure would only end in multiplying a Sect equally inimical to their God and their country; and Charles Theodore would no longer hear of the Protectorſhip of Philoſophiſm. This anecdote was ſent to me by a perſon who heard it from the very miniſter that had made the propoſition to the Elector.

It is not underſtood how the court of Munich acquired its firſt knowledge reſpecting Illuminiſm; the information it received was not ſufficiently explicit indeed to deſcribe the ſpirit of the Sect, but it gave a general idea of the danger of ſecret ſocieties. On the 22d of June 1784, His Electoral Highneſs publiſhed an Edict abſolutely forbidding all *ſecret communities, ſocieties, and confraternities*, other than thoſe by law eſtabliſhed. The uncontaminated Maſons ſhut up their Lodges; the Illuminized Maſons, who had many of their adepts about the court, thought themſelves ſtrong enough to bid defiance to the Edict, and continued their meetings. A work publiſhed by Mr. Babo, a Profeſſor at Munich, entitled *The firſt Warning on Free-maſonry*, began to diſcloſe more clearly the plans of the new adepts. Soon after the Count Joſeph Törring made a more vigorous attack on them. The Illuminees not only wrote apologies in anſwer to theſe attacks, but ſet many other engines to work, the artifice of which cannot be better deſcribed than by Weiſhaupt's own letters to his adepts.

"Liſten for a moment to my advice, (he writes on the "18th December, 1784). If any inquiry be ſet on foot, "I am of opinion that none of the Chiefs ſhould ſuffer "themſelves to be led into the detail and particulars of "the Order; and they muſt poſitively declare, that no "power on earth ſhould force them to make any diſcove-"ries excepting to the Elector perſonally: the two de-"grees of the higher myſteries ſhould then be ſubmitted "to him. At leaſt ſuch ſhall be the line of conduct which "I will hold, if ever I am called upon. You will then "ſee what a happy turn our affairs will take. You have "read what Brother D . . . thought of the firſt degree.

" I am certain the Elector will view it in the same light. " I place all my hopes in the goodness of my cause. Bold- " ly and without the least apprehension, I can declare be- " forehand, that if I am to fall it shall be in an honorable " manner, though it were to cost me my head. Deport " yourselves in the same manner, and instil courage into " the others. This is an admirable opportunity of shew- " ing your magnanimity; do not let it pass by without " avail. I have mentioned my plan for the Elector to Bro- " ther *Cromwell*, and he augurs fortunately from it:—but " he very well knows that such a measure will only be " resorted to in the last extremity."

What an extraordinary mode of defence must this appear to those who do not know that these two degrees which he intended to shew to the Elector were the corrected ones, such as he had prepared for Princes and certain other candidates who would have been disgusted with them in their real state. Sometimes the whole of that part relating to the mysteries, and the discourses of the Hierophants, were retrenched, and nothing but the idle ceremonial preserved. A second letter of Weishaupt's to his Areopagites dated the 2d February 1785, will more clearly explain the whole of this artifice. " My Brethren " (he says), the step you are going to take is proper, and " such as the circumstances require. The Memorial of " our *Menelaus* (WERNER, Counsellor at Munich) is " very fine and very judicious. I only wish you to add, " that you will shew your degrees to nobody but to the " Elector; and those that may be submitted to his inspec- " tion are—1st, The *Novice*; 2dly, The *Minerval*; " 3dly, The *Minor Illuminee*. [*Nota bene*, that the words " *dummster mönch* (stupid monk) are to be changed into " *dummster mensch* (stupid men]. 4thly, The *Major Il-* " *luminee* entire, except these words, which you will ef- " face: *the Priests and bad Princes are in our way.* " 5thly, The *Directing Illumince*; but in this degree " you will only shew the ceremonial of the reception, and " my discourse; *not a word of the rest.* 6thly, The de- " gree of *Priest* or *Epopt*; here you will only *shew our* " *instructions that relate to sciences*; *and you will care-* " *fully read those over, lest any allusion or reference to the* " *rest should subsist.*

" As all the packets for *Ephesus* (Ingolstadt) are open- " ed, I plainly see that I am the person at whom they aim.

"To-morrow I will write to *Alfred* (the minister Sein-"sheim); and that letter will inform the court before-"hand how I mean to behave on this occasion. Openly "declare to the Elector, *that the Order is a produce of* "*his own states, and that I am the author of it.* Then "the whole affair will turn upon me; but I am much "mistaken if they will proceed to a personal inquest until "they have further proofs, which can only be acquired "by opening the letters. Show yourselves, great, firm, "and undaunted. *My conduct will prove to you what I* "*can be.* In the instruction for the degree of *Epopt* take "great care of that part that *relates to History*; leave "nothing that can lead *to the discovery of the theft com-*"*mitted on the Archives.*"

He is discovered and dismissed.

All this artifice, however, proved useless. The court had acquired sufficient proofs to take such steps against the hero of the Sect as prudence might require. A few days after he had written these instructions to his Areopagites, he was dismissed from his chair of Professor of Laws in the University of Ingolstadt; only, however, as a famous *Master of Lodges*, and as disobedient to the Edict suppressing all secret societies. The mysteries of his Lodge had not yet transpired; it was only known, that several members of his Illuminism, disgusted with his doctrines or his plans, had abandoned his Lodges as early as 1783. Among others were to be found Cosandey a Priest, and the Abbé Renner, both of them Professors of the *Litteræ humaniores* at Munich. But, great as might be the horror which they had conceived of what they had seen of the Sect without having attained the grand mysteries, it does not appear that they had as yet taken any steps against it; at least they had not given such details as might direct the arm of the law. On the 30th March 1785, however, they received a summons from His Electoral Highness, and from the Bishop of Freysinguen, to appear before the Tribunal of the Ordinary, and there to declare whatever they might have observed in the Sect of Illuminees contrary to religion and good morals. Nobody, even then, had the least idea that the conspiracy was pointedly directed against the government. Messrs. Cosandey and Renner made their depositions, the one on the 3d the other on the 7th of April following. I must give extracts from both, though perfectly agreeing with each other. That made by Mr. Cosandey

Juridical depositions of two Illuminees.

is more ample on the principles of the Illuminees, while Mr. Renner deſcends more particularly into their conſtitution and the education of their pupils. I ſhall therefore begin by an extract from the latter; and then revert to that made by Mr. Coſandey.

Juridical Depoſition made by the Profeſſor RENNER *on the Illuminees.*

After having ſtated the orders he had received to appear before the Tribunal, and the ſubject on which he was to give evidence, Mr. Renner begins by declaring that

" The Order of the Illuminees muſt be diſtinguiſhed " from that of the Free-maſons. But this diſtinction is a " ſecret to mere Maſons, as well as to Illuminees of the " Minerval degree. I was myſelf in the dark reſpecting " it, until, after a long trial, they thought proper to ad- " vance me to the degree of *Minor Illuminee*, the firſt " degree in which they take the name of *Illuminee*. I " was even conſtituted Superior over a ſmall number of " the Brethren."

Here the deponent, who thought he was to become a Maſon on his firſt entrance into the Sect, learns that he is not yet one; and tells us, that many of the Brethren had complained heavily that they had not been admitted as yet to the *Intermediary Degrees*. He himſelf is admitted to them, and does not find them ſatisfactory: but he adds, " The advantage I reaped from them " was, that I diſcovered the benefits which the Order de- " rived from Free-maſonry. The Illuminees fear no- " thing ſo much as to be known under that name. They " aſſume the cloak of Maſonry, only becauſe they believe " themſelves more ſecure when maſked under the appear- " ance of an aſſociation that is looked upon as inſignifi- " cant.—The Maſonic Lodges, according to their ex- " preſſion, only contain the *droſs of the people* (der troſs " von leuten) or the bulk of the army, among whom a " few perſons may be found, that may look upon them- " ſelves as very happy, after long and ſevere trials, to be " ſecretly admitted into the ſanctuary of the Order. All " the other Free-maſons, Apprentices, Fellow-crafts, and " Maſons, are to content themſelves with idle ceremo- " nies, and remain under the yoke, either becauſe their

" eyes are not ſtrong enough to bear the light, or becauſe " their love for the Order, and their ſecrecy, two eſſential " requiſites in every adept, cannot be ſufficiently depend- " ed on. When once they are condemned to linger in " obſcurity, they can never have hopes of riſing to the " myſteries; and this is expreſſed by the ſuperiors in the " following ſentence, *Ex inferno nulla eſt Redemptio.*

" Meantime theſe Maſons, without knowing it, are " under the direction of the Illuminees, who reap great " advantages from their reputation and their riches.— " Theſe men (ſay the Superiors) are ſufficiently recom- " penſed by being admitted to converſe with the adepts of " light, and to learn enough from ſuch converſations to " appear enlighted to the prophane.

" The Illuminees, who at firſt only ſhow themſelves " under the appearance of a literary ſociety, gave them- " ſelves the following conſtitution: Their Order is ſub- " divided into different claſſes, called *degrees*, becauſe the " light expands itſelf according to theſe claſſes.—The firſt " degree is a ſort of Noviciate, though every perſon re- " ported as *inſinuated*, and recommended by ſome mem- " ber of the Order as worthy of being admitted, muſt " have been prepared and inſtructed to a certain point by " his Inſinuator or Recruiter. It is a conſtant rule in the " Order, that every Candidate ſhould undergo a year's " trial, that his Inſinuator may obſerve him accurately, " according to the regulations of the Order, and in a *Qui-* " *bus Licet* draw an exact picture of his perſon, his cha- " racter, his talents, and his conduct. If the Candidate " is judged to be worthy, he is admitted into the claſs of " *Preparations*.—In my time there were two of this na- " ture, called *Churches*. Each was directed by four men, " forming what was called the *Magiſtracy*. They were " the *Superior*, the *Cenſor*, the *Treaſurer*, and the *Secre-* " *tary*; and all theſe were adepts of higher degrees.— " We held at leaſt one meeting every month, at which " all the members of the ſame *Church* were to attend, to " give their Superiors a ſealed letter directed *Quibus Li-* " *cet*, *Soli*, or *Primo*, containing an exact ſtatement of the " conduct, diſcourſe, &c. of thoſe whom they had *obſerved* " during the month.

" No member is diſpenſed from theſe *Quibus Licets*, " which aſcend from Degree to Degree, and are only open- " ed by thoſe who have a right to read them. The other

" occupations of the meeting were, after ſome ceremonies,
" to read the ſtatutes, a few paſſages from the ancient Phi-
" loſophers, and a diſcourſe on various ſubjects, compoſed
" by the different members in rotation. As the Brethren
" in general do not like religion, the greater liberty the
" writer uſes on that ſubject, he is the more applauded,
" and acquires a higher reputation of being enlightened.
" Sometimes, however, the preſence of certain brethren,
" either feeble as yet, or not to be entirely depended upon,
" cauſe the Superiors at ſuch lectures to give ſigns of ap-
" parent diſſatisfaction. It would be a violent breach of
" their policy to give way to intemperate language, and
" to expreſs the principles of the Order too openly, as
" each member might look upon ſuch talk as a part of
" their ſyſtem.

" To avoid ſuſpicion, and to attain their ends more cer-
" tainly, they hold weekly meetings, whence all ceremony
" and conſtraint is diſcarded. Here the pupils hold dis-
" putations among themſelves on all ſorts of ſubjects. It
" is on theſe occaſions that the ſuperiors, and thoſe who
" have imbibed the true principles of the Order, ſneer at
" what they call *Religious Prejudices*; for in their lan-
" guage every thing that can obſtruct their views are *pre-*
" *judices*. It is then that by means of the moſt ſeducing
" ſubterfuges they repreſent their principles in ſuch poign-
" ant language, that the moſt timid, encouraged by their
" example, and purified from all droſs and religious pre-
" judice, become perfectly like the reſt. He that can
" withſtand ſuch artifice is a man loſt in the eyes of the
" Order.

" That which made the greateſt impreſſion on me, a-
" mong the Illuminees, was certainly their method of
" binding down their adepts and ſubduing their minds.—
" They extoll the greatneſs and power of the Order; they
" ſpeak of its dignity with the utmoſt reſpect; they ſtun
" you with the moſt magnificent promiſes, and aſſure you
" of the protection of great perſonages ready to do every
" thing for the advancement of its members at the re-
" commendation of the Order; till at length each pupil
" really conſiders, or appears to conſider, the intereſt of
" Illuminiſm as his own, and views all the propoſitions
" and orders he receives from his ſuperiors as duties which
" he has to fulfill. Should a pupil under this idea have
" the misfortune to declare, in a *Quibus Licet*, a *Primo*,

" or a *Soli*, ſome miſconduct of his own, or ſome ſecret " that he has been entruſted with or that he has extorted " from any body, the unhappy confident is loſt to him- " ſelf, for he thenceforth belongs wholly to the Sect.— " When once they have thus tied him down, they aſſume " a very different tone with him. They care very little " about him; 'He may abandon us (they ſay), we ſtand in " no farther need of him.'—I do not think that any one has " yet dared or will ever dare to ſhow the leaſt diſcontent, " much leſs a deſire to quit the Order; eſpecially if he " reflects on the dictatorial threat, *It ſhall be in vain for* " *any prince to pretend to ſave him who ſhall dare to be-* " *tray us.**

" They ſelect their pupils with great caution, and only " entice into their Order thoſe whom they think can be " uſeful to the attainment of their ends. Stateſmen, per- " ſons diſtinguiſhed by rank or fortune, archiviſts, coun- " ſellors, ſecretaries, clerks, profeſſors; abbés, preceptors, " phyſicians, and apothecaries, are always welcome candi- " dates to the Order.

" The degree of *Major Illuminee* is, if I may make uſe " of ſuch an expreſſion, a ſchool in which the candidate is " trained like a true *Bloodhound.*"†

Here the deponent relates their method of watching their adepts, and of deſcribing both them and the prophane. He alſo mentions ſome few of the thouſand or fifteen hundred queſtions that are to be anſwered on the character, the habits, &c. of any perſon whom an adept is ordered to ſcrutinize. He then continues:

" This method of enlightening the pupils always goes " on increaſing in every degree. A brother may know " thoſe of his claſs and thoſe of an inferior one; but, un- " leſs his Superiors have conferred on him the commiſſion " of Director, Viſitor, or Spy, all other adepts are, in their " language, *inviſible* to him. This, without doubt, is the " point that conſtitutes the great ſtrength of the Order. " The chiefs, by this method, watch an inferior without be- " ing known; they know how far he is devoted to the Or- " der and true to his ſecrecy; and a point of ſtill greater " importance is, that in caſe of any exploſion, (of which " they have been long apprehenſive), and on all occaſions,

* Kein Fürſt Kann den ſchützen der uns verräth.

† Wie die wahren ſpürhunde abgerichtet werden.

" they can ſupport the brethren without any one enter-
" taining the leaſt ſuſpicion of their being connected with
" the ſyſtem, ſince they are unknown even to the Bre-
" thren, and of courſe to the prophane.

" *There are men, and they may be eaſily diſcerned, who*
" *defend the Order* (of Illuminiſm) *with great warmth,*
" *though they do not declare themſelves to belong to it.*—
" Such conduct certainly deſerves a little animadverſion.
" Either theſe defenders belong to the Order, or they do
" not; if they do not, can they pretend to defend that
" which they neither know nor have any poſſibility of
" knowing. If they belong to the Order, that very cir-
" cumſtance renders them unworthy of belief, though they
" ſhould adduce as proofs ſome few works thrown out to
" baffle any attempt to inveſtigate the plan of the Order,
" or ſhould proteſt on their words of honor when they
" ſpeak ſo highly in its praiſe. When a perſon comes ſe-
" rioufly to conſider the impoſſibility of knowing any
" thing of Illuminiſm but by being a member of it, and
" when we compare the many advantages derived from
" their *inviſibility*; if we ſhould be tempted to draw
" any concluſions on theſe defenders, we might (and that
" without reaſoning ill) ſuppoſe they belonged themſelves
" to the Order, and to that particular ſpecies of adepts
" which the Illuminees term *inviſible.*"*

After having thus given as much of the general plan of the Illuminees as he could know without having been admitted to the higher degrees, the Deponent comes to the principles which the Superiors wiſh to inculcate in their pupils; and in the firſt place he mentions the following, of which they have made a ſort of proverb:

* Und zwar von iener art der verſchwundenen, wie man ſie in der ordens ſprache nennt.—Were I to requeſt certain Engliſh reviewers, and particularly Dr. Griffiths, or his aſſiſtants in the *Monthly Review*, to read and weigh this obſervation of the German deponant, thoſe gentlemen might perhaps wiſh to retort it on me; but let them recollect, that when men who have aſſociated with robbers are ſeen to depoſe againſt them, or when the writings of conſpirators are produced in evidence, a perſon may eaſily prove their criminality without being an accomplice. But you, Gentlemen, who were not with them, yet pretend to prove their innocence, will your aſſertion invalidate the evidence of eye and ear witneſſes?—If you are of their party, all that can be concluded from your denials is, that you are ſtill very faithful and much devoted to them, ſince in their defence you reſiſt the demonſtration of evidence.

Tous les Rois et tous les Pretres
Sont des Fripons et des traitres.*

With regard to *Suicide*, the Superiors preach it to their brethren *to prepare them for more tempeſtuous times.*— " They have the art of repreſenting ſuicide as ſo eaſy, and " ſo advantageous in certain circumſtances, that I ſhould " not be ſurprized (ſays Mr. Renner) to ſee ſome adept " carried away by the lure of a certain voluptuouſneſs which " they pretend to be peculiar to ſuicide; and they even " pretend to prove their aſſertions by examples.

" But of all their deteſtable principles the moſt danger- " ous in my judgment is this: *The end juſtifies the means.* " In conſequence of this morality, and ACCORDING TO " THEIR CONSTANT PRACTICE, the mere ſuſpicion that " a man will at any future period be in a poſition to ob- " ſtruct the views of the Order will be a ſufficient reaſon " to calumniate him, however virtuous he may be. They " will cabal to drive one man out of his place; they will " poiſon another; a third they will aſſaſſinate; in ſhort, " they will do any thing to attain their ends. Suppoſe the " crime of the Illuminee ſhould be diſcovered, he always " has the *Patet-exitus* as a reſource. *It is only a ball* " *through the head*, and he eſcapes the rigor and ignomi- " ny of the law."

Mr. Renner next alludes to what the Sect calls its *Moral Government* or *Commiſſion of Morals*, or its *Fiſcal*: " This commiſſion is a college formed of the moſt able " and honeſt men, that is in their language, of men chiefly " belonging to the claſs of *Inviſibles*, and who, enjoying " the confidence of the ſovereign, would, according to the " vices of their commiſſion, inform him of the morals " and honeſty of each of his ſubjects; but as probity is " neceſſary to fulfil the divers ſtations of the ſtate, each " perſon ſhould be prepared beforehand for the office he " is to occupy. An admirable plan! But ſhould they ever " accompliſh it, ſhould their rule ever be adopted, what " would become of all thoſe men who did not belong to " Illuminiſm? Happily, the plan is diſcovered in time; " otherwiſe they might have verified what a Superior juſt " returned from viſiting a Superior of a higher degree " had foretold; *All the Poſts once properly filled in ſuc-*

* All kings and all prieſts are raſcals and traitors.

" *ceſſion to each other, ſhould the Order be compoſed of but* " *ſix hundred members, no power on earth could reſiſt* " *them.*"

Mr. Renner finiſhes by declaring, that he is unacquainted with the ultimate object of the Order; that the Superiors were perpetually talking of that object, but never mentioned what it was. He believes it to be of the utmoſt conſequence; but he leaves every one free to conceive, after what he has ſaid, how that object can accord with the civil and religious duties. He affirms on oath the particulars contained in the above declaration, and which he leaves written and ſigned by his own hand.

Juridical Depoſitions of Mr. COSANDEY, *3d April*, 1785.

My reaſon for placing Mr. Renner's depoſition firſt, was, becauſe he is more explicit on the government of Illuminiſm; while Mr. Coſandey chiefly dwells on the principles of the Sect. After having ſhown in a few words how Free-maſonry ſerves as a cloak to the Sect, how the candidate is gradually fettered in the bonds of the Superiors, and how dangerous muſt be a ſervitude to men who from principle wiſh to appear idlers though in the moſt active purſuits; he proceeds with the unfortunate *Minerval* to the degrees of *Minor* and *Major Illuminee*. " It is here (ſays he) that the pupil is a little further ini- " tiated into the ſyſtems of the Order. Light, however, " is imparted to him but ſlowly, and with all poſſible pre- " cautions. He is here made acquainted with a greater " number of Adepts and Under-Superiors; but the Chiefs " always remain *inviſible*.

" In order to be advanced to the higher degrees the " candidate muſt, in the language of the Sect, have got rid " of all religious prejudices, or at leaſt he muſt aſſume " the appearance of one who has ſo done in the preſence " of his Superiors; as no *religioniſt* (ſuch is their expres- " ſion) can be admitted to the higher degrees.*

" The moſt excellent Superiors are the perſons that " give the ton in all theſe degrees. Their orders, their " maxims, their opinions, their doctrines, are the ſoul, the " ſtandard, the ſpirit, the main ſpring of this inſtitution.

* Dann kein *Religionär* (es iſt ihr auſdruck) wird in die höhere grad auf genommen.

" The lower claſs of Superiors and Chiefs, are cunning " knaves, and black and ſyſtematic villains, or ſometimes " miſled enthuſiaſts, ſpurred on and abominably deluded " by the others. As a proof, I will relate ſome of their " principles in the form of proverbs, which are never giv- " en in writing, but are perpetually inculcated in the adepts " by theſe Superiors.

" I. *When nature lays too heavy a burthen upon us,* " *it is to ſuicide that we are to apply for relief.* PATET " EXITUS. An Illuminee, they would tell us, ſhould " make away with himſelf rather than betray his Order; " and they alſo repreſent a ſecret voluptuouſneſs to be in- " herent to ſuicide.

" II. *Nothing through reaſon, every thing through* " *paſſion,* is their ſecond maxim. The end, the propa- " gation, and the advantage of their Order, ſupplies in the " minds of the adepts the place of God, country, and con- " ſcience. Every thing that obſtructs the progreſs of the " Order is the blackeſt treaſon.

" III. *The end ſanctifies the means.* Thus calumny, " poiſon, aſſaſſination, treaſon, revolt, wickedneſs, and any " thing that can lead to this end, is laudable.

" IV. *No Prince can ſave the man who dares to betray* " *us.* Things then are carried on in this Order that are " adverſe to the intereſts of Princes; things that from " their importance might be diſcovered to Princes; ſuch " a diſcovery (in the language of the Sect) would be the " blackeſt treaſon; and the traitor is beforehand threaten- " ed with vengeance. They muſt alſo have means of de- " ſtroying their accuſers with impunity; and ſuch means " are eaſily furniſhed.

" V. *All Kings and all Prieſts are raſcals and trai-* " *tors*; and in another place, *All Prieſts are knaves.*— " The total annihilation of religion, of the love of the " country, and of princes, enters into the plans of the Il- " luminees; becauſe (ſay they) religion as well as love of " the country, and of princes, reſtrains the affections of " men to particular ſtates, and diverts them from the more " extenſive views of Illuminiſm.

" Among their plans I obſerved one which they called " their *moral Empire or Government.* This government, " which would throw the whole force of every ſtate into " the hands of their *college* or *council* of Illuminiſm, would, " *without any appeal to the prince,* name to all promo-

" tions, and grant or refuse all the favors of the state.—
" By these means they would be entrusted with the abso-
" lute right of definitively pronouncing on the honesty or
" the capability of each individual. By these means too
" all the prophane would be discarded from the court and
" other employments; and, to use their expression, a holy
" legion would surround the prince, master him, and dic-
" tate his edicts according to their own will and pleasure.
" This Regimen or Moral College, also called the Com-
" mission of Morals, or the *Fiscal* (being a sort of exche-
" quer chamber for the government of the people), would
" invest the Sect with a most formidable despotic power
" over the four quarters of the globe, and would reduce
" sovereigns to the despicable state of mere phantoms, or
" of crowned slaves."

This College, or *Moral Regimen*, will occur again in another juridical deposition; and I will then explain how it served to veil the future projects of the Sect for the disorganization and absolute destruction of all society whatever. Mr. Cosandey concludes with saying that he is ready to affirm on oath the truth of all that is contained in the above declaration.

These depositions, notwithstanding their importance, seemed to make but little impression. Whether the tribunals were beset by, or in great part composed of Illuminees, or not, I cannot know; but they affected to treat these declarations as containing nothing either very serious or menacing; or whether the removal of Weishaupt had made them view the Sect as destroyed, and the conspiracy as counteracted, I do not pretend to say; but certain it is, that at length Heaven by its thunderbolts warns nations and their rulers of the plots contriving against them, of the extent of which plots they were ignorant; neither had they surmised the baneful activity of the conspirators. Dismissed from his public functions at Ingolstadt, Weishaupt had taken refuge at Ratisbon. This town becomes his new *Eleusis*, his center of mysteries; all his plots had followed him thither; and so far was he from looking upon them as baffled, that he pursued them with redoubled ardor. Vengeance had rendered him more terrible from the recesses of his new retreat; and now entirely liberated from all public duties, he gives up his whole time to the preparation and drilling of emissaries, and to teaching them the means of sapping, when on their

Weishaupt continues his plots at Ratisbon.

different miſſions, the foundations of the altar and the throne, of civil ſociety, and of all governments whatever.

An adept ſtruck with lightening.

Among his adepts was one LANZ, an apoſtate prieſt. Weiſhaupt deſigned him as the perſon to carry his myſteries and conſpiracies into Sileſia. His miſſion was already fixed, and Weiſhaupt was giving him his laſt inſtructions, when a thunderbolt from heaven ſtruck the apoſtate dead, and that *by the ſide of Weiſhaupt.** The Brethren, in their firſt fright had not recourſe to their ordinary means for diverting the papers of the deceaſed adept from the inſpection of the magiſtrates. The peruſal of ſome of his papers furniſhed new proofs; and being transmitted to the court of Bavaria, induced it to take the determination of following up the diſcoveries made in the depoſitions of Meſſrs. Coſandey and Renner.

The enquiries made, chiefly related to thoſe who were known to have had connections with Weiſhaupt at Ingolſtadt. The adept FISCHER, firſt judge and Burgo-maſter of that town, and the Librarian DREXL, were baniſhed. The Baron FRAUENBERG and fifteen other of Weiſhaupt's pupils were expelled the univerſity. But neither their puniſhment, nor the circumſtance of the adept being ſtruck by lightning, could raiſe any ſymptoms of remorſe in the mind of their maſter. The following letter to Fiſcher may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manner in which he wiſhed to ſupport their courage, ſtimulate their enthuſiaſm, and infuſe all the rage and vengeance of his plots into their minds.

"*I ſalute you, my dear martyr*;" it is thus he begins his letter. He then reminds his pretended martyr of that paſſage in Seneca where the juſt man ſtruggling with adverſity is repreſented as the ſight moſt worthy of Heaven: He then continues: "Am I to congratulate you, or am "I to condole with you on your misfortunes? I know "you too well to indulge in the latter ſentiment—Receive "then my moſt ſincere congratulations on ſeeing you "among thoſe to whom poſterity will render juſtice, and "whoſe conſtancy in the defence of truth it cannot fail "to admire—You are triply and quadruply more dear to "me, now that you ſhare my fate and that of ſo many "other magnanimous perſons. I leave it to your pru- "dence to decide whether you will commence a proſecu-

* See the Apology of the Illuminees, P. 62.

" tion againſt thoſe who have been guilty of ſuch abomi-
" nable injuſtice againſt you; or whether ſubmitting to
" your exile without murmur or complaint, you will wait
" for better times. You ſhall not want; I and the Bre-
" thren will provide for your expenſes. *The public papers*
" *alſo ſhall repreſent the whole of this buſineſs in its pro-*
" *per light.* Drexl in the mean time will retire to Brunn.
" *Let the laughers laugh, and our enemies rejoice. Their*
" *joy ere long ſhall be converted into tears. Look upon*
" *yourſelf as happy to ſuffer with the better part of the*
" *nation.* If I have the power of giving my benediction
" to any body, I give you mine with both my hands.—
" *O be thou bleſſed, moſt worthy and moſt conſtant of my*
" *Heroes.* . . . I am ſorry that all this has happened juſt
" at the time when I am ſetting out for the banks of the
" Rhine. I depart next month and ſhall not return till a
" few months hence. *In the mean time I ſhall not be idle;*
" *and it is not without a reaſon that I go to that country.*
" *Acquaint the Brethren of it.* Be always firm and con-
" ſtant. No diſhonor can attach to you; continue as you
" have begun, and your very enemies will be obliged to
" admire you. Adieu, learn to appreciate and feel your
" own greatneſs. Your enemies are little indeed in their
" triumph.—*(Ratiſbon this 9th April 1785).*

" *P. S.* If you want money I will have proper mea-
" ſures taken at Munich to ſupply you."

This letter was either intercepted or fell into the Elector's hands by ſome other means;* and he there ſaw how dangerous a man this muſt be who could thus infuſe his enthuſiaſm into the minds of his Conſpirators. A ſecret commiſſion was named to receive further depoſitions.—The aulic counſellor UTZSCHNEIDER and Mr. GRÜNBERGER of the Academy of Sciences, who were known to have abandoned the Order of the Illuminees about two years before, were ſummoned to make their depoſitions. The Prieſt Coſandey was called upon once more. The declaration made in common by theſe three Gentlemen will recall to the minds of the readers many of the particulars already ſtated in the foregoing declarations, and in the Code of the Illuminees, with reſpect to the means employed by the Sect, for making themſelves maſters of the Maſonic Lodges; for appropriating to themſelves their

* See Original Writings, Vol. II. laſt Letter and Note.

funds, to provide for the expenſe of their travellers; and for multiplying the number of their adepts.—The ſame method for the ſcrutators is obſervable, the ſame oaths, almanacks, and cypher for the firſt degrees. The deponents had abandoned the Order before they were admitted to the higher degrees. The principles that had been laid down to them are on that account the more remarkable. I ſhall, therefore, tranſlate that part of their evidence as being of the utmoſt conſequence. Some perſons may be of opinion, that to have ſimply ſtated the perfect coincidence of this new declaration with thoſe already ſeen would have ſufficed; but they ſhould conſider that repetitions of objects of ſuch importance may be inſiſted on by many readers, becauſe the proofs are ſtrengthened by the number, the character, and concordance of the witneſſes.

The Juridical Depoſition made in common by the Aulic Counſellor UTZSCHNEIDER, *the Prieſt* COSANDEY, *and the Academician* GRÜNBERGER, *on the 9th of Sept.* 1785.

"The object of the firſt degrees of Illuminiſm is at "once to train their young men, and to be informed of "every thing that is going forward by a ſyſtem of *eſpion-* "*age*.* The Superiors aim at procuring from their in- "feriors diplomatic acts, documents, and original wri- "tings. With pleaſure they ſee them commit any trea- "ſons or treacherous acts, becauſe they not only turn the "ſecrets betrayed to their own advantage, but thereby "have it in their power to keep the traitors in a perpetual "dread, leſt, if they ever ſhowed any ſigns of ſtubborn- "neſs, their malefactions ſhould be made known.—*Ode-* "*rint dum metuant*, let them hate, provided they fear, is "the principle of their government.

"The Illuminees from theſe firſt degrees are educated "in the following principles:

I. "The Illuminee who wiſhes to riſe to the higheſt "degrees muſt be free from all religion;† for *a religioniſt*

* Und zu gliech zur auſkundſchaftung aller ſachen.

† Der Illuminat, der in die höhern grade kommen will, muſs von aller religion frey ſeyn.

" (as they call every man who has any religion) will ne-
" ver be admitted to the higheſt degrees.

II. The *Patet Exitus*, or the doctrine on Suicide, is expreſſed in the ſame terms as in the preceding depoſition.

III. " *The end ſanctifies the means.* The welfare of
" the Order will be a juſtification for calumnies, poiſon-
" ings, aſſaſſinations, perjuries, treaſons, rebellions; in
" ſhort, for all that the *prejudices* of men lead them to
" call crimes.

IV. " One muſt be more ſubmiſſive to the Superiors
" of Illuminiſm, than to the ſovereigns or magiſtrates who
" govern the people; and he that gives the preference to
" ſovereigns or governors of the people is uſeleſs to us.*
" Honor, life, and fortune, all are to be ſacrificed to the
" Superiors. The governors of nations are deſpots when
" they are not directed by us. They can have no autho-
" rity over us, who are free men." †

The Marquis of Conſtanza uſed to ſay, " that there
" ought to be but two Princes in Germany—Theſe Prin-
" ces ſhould be Illuminees, and ſo ſurrounded and led by
" our adepts, that none of the prophane could approach
" their perſons. The greater and leſſer offices of the ſtate
" ſhould be ſolely entruſted to members of our Order;
" and the advantages of the Order ſhould be attended to,
" tho' in direct oppoſition to the intereſts of the Prince.‡
" Sovereigns ſhould alſo paſs through the lower degrees
" of the Order, and they ſhould only be admitted to the
" higher degrees when they properly apprehend the holy
" deſigns of the Order—which are no other than to deli-
" ver the people from the bondage of their Princes, No-
" bles, and Prieſts; to eſtabliſh an equality of ſtations and
" of religion; and to render men both free and happy.—
" Should we ever have ſix hundred Illuminees in Bavaria,
" nothing could reſiſt us."

I promiſed to make a few reflections on this article; and to thoſe perſons I addreſs them, who would immediately lay hold of it to prove that the Illuminees, ſo far from wiſhing to annihilate every government and civil ſociety itſelf, had no other view than to re-unite Germany under

* Wollte jemand den Regenten mehr anhängen, ſo taught er nicht für uns.

† Sie haben kein Recht über uns freye Menſchen.

‡ Alles was das beſte des Ordens befördert, muſs man thun, wenn es gleich dem beſten der Regenten zuwider lauft.

one and the same government.* Most undoubtedly such views were held out to the deponents in their lower classes; but let it be remembered, that none of them had been admitted to the higher mysteries. It is in the degree of *Epopt* that the designs of the Order for the total destruction of *Civil Society* are manifested. There the illuminizing Hierophant no longer says, that Germany ought to be under the government of *one* Prince; but he says THAT NATIONS AND PRINCES SHALL DISAPPEAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH; *that every father shall, like Abraham, be at once the priest and sovereign of his family*; *and* REASON *shall be the sole Code of Man.* The Hierophant there declares, that SECRET SOCIETIES are the agents that are to produce this revolution, and *that it is one of the grand secrets of Illuminism.* There, in short, is clearly to be seen the plan of bringing men back to the pretended *Patriarchal nomade* and *savage* life; and it is even expressly asserted, that the original cause of the fall of man was their *re-union in civil society!* The depositions, therefore, of Messrs. Utzschneider, Cosandey, and Grünberger, are perfectly correct so far as they relate to their degrees; for such was the doctrine taught in the degrees of *Major* and *Minor* Illuminee.—Another remark may also be true, that as a preparatory step the Illuminees only seek to destroy all the lesser powers in order to form one or two great states in Germany; but that will not change the fate decreed in the higher mysteries for these greater Princes of the German nation, or for all Princes and nations in general. This single Potentate will then share the same fate as *Religion.* We have heard them talk of reducing the world to the *unity of Religion*, as well as to the unity or equality of *stations.* But has not the Sect already declared, that in order to be admitted to the last secret one must begin by *getting rid of all Religion?* This plan, therefore, for reducing Ger-

* This is precisely what has been lately attempted to divert the eyes of the public from their monstrous and Antisocial plots; and even in England this plea has been set up, in hopes of invalidating the proofs adduced in such Memoirs. I know not who is the *invisible* writer of these paragraphs; but though even the *Sieur Boettiger* himself, famous among the German Illuminees, were the author of them, I should little fear his arguments. Let my readers compare his proofs with mine: I ask no more.

many under the dominion of one Prince, is evidently nothing more than a preliminary ſtep, in like manner as their plan of ſubjecting Princes to the government of their Order. When the proper time comes, all theſe plans are changed, in the leſſons of the adepts, to the total annihilation of every ſtate, prince, and civil government on earth.

The Reader may eaſily perceive how the Sect, even ſo early as the degrees in which the three deponents had been admitted, prepares them for the laſt ſecrets; eſpecially when he ſees immediately following the pretended union of Germany, that maxim which has already appeared in the firſt depoſition.

V. "The love of one's prince and of one's country "are incompatible with views of an immenſe extent, with "*the ultimate ends of the Order*, and one muſt glow with "ardor for the attainment of that *end*."*

In the Degrees alſo to which the deponents had been admitted we ſee the Superiors inceſſantly declaiming on that *end*; but they never mention what it really was.—They even confeſs that they are not in the ſecret; they ſay that the knowledge of it is reſerved to the higher degrees; their own declaration, therefore, proves that it cannot be this unity of Religion or of government to be eſtabliſhed in Germany, as they are not ſtrangers to that plan. Beſides, how can it appear, that the love of one's country, or national love, is incompatible with the wiſh of uniting a great nation under the dominion of one Prince. On the other hand, we ſee theſe maxims in perfect accord with the views of Illuminiſm, when, advancing toward the higher degrees, we hear the Sect pouring forth its blaſphemies againſt Princes and Nations, and poſitively declaring, as one of their myſteries, that SECRET SOCIETIES were only contrived to ſweep Nations and Princes from the face of the earth. Such are the plots to be diſcovered to nations; ſuch have been the tricks employed by the Illuminees to lull nations to ſleep on their dangers; and, Engliſh Reviewers having hearkened to ſuch inſinuations, I am obliged to have recourſe to repetitions in the midſt of a nation whoſe ruin is now become

* Fürſten und vaterlands liebe wiederſprechen den weitausſehenden geſichts puncten des Orders—Man muſs glühen für den zweck.

one of the chief objects of the Sect.—But let us return to the depositions of our witnesses.

"The Superiors of Illuminism are to be looked upon "as the most perfect and the most enlightened of men; "no doubts are to be entertained even of their infalli- "bility.*

"It is in these moral and political principles that the "Illuminees are educated in the lower degrees; and it is "according to the manner in which they imbibe them "and show their devotion to the Order, or are able to "second its views, that they are earlier or later admitted "to the higher degrees.

"They use every possible artifice to get the different "post-offices in all countries entrusted to the care of their "adepts only. They also boast that they are in posses- "sion of the secret of opening and reclosing letters with- "out the circumstance being perceived.

"They made us give answers in writing to the follow- "ing questions: How would it be possible to devise one "single system of morals and one common government "for all Europe, and what means should be employed to "effectuate it? Would the Christian Religion be a ne- "cessary requisite? Should revolt be employed to accom- "plish it? &c. &c.

"We were also asked, in which Brethren we should "place the most confidence if there were any important "plan to be undertaken; and whether we were willing "to recognize the right of life and death as vested in the "Order; and also the right of the sword, *Jus Gladii.*

"In consequence of our acquaintance with this doc- "trine of the Illuminees, with their conduct, their man- "ners, and their incitements to treason, and being fully "convinced of the dangers of the Sect, we the Aulic "Counsellor Utschneider and the Priest Dillis left the "Order. The Professor Grünberger, the Priest Cosan- "dey, Renner, and Zaupfer, did the same a week after, "though the Illuminees sought to impose upon us shame- "fully, by assuring us that his Electoral Highness was a "member of their Order. We clearly saw that a Prince "knowing his own interests, and wholly attending to the "paternal care of his subjects, would never countenance "a Sect, spreading through almost every province under

* An deren untrüglichkeit man nie zweifeln dürfe.

" the cloak of Free-maſonry; becauſe it ſows diviſion " and diſcord between parents and their children, between " Princes and their ſubjects, and among the moſt ſincere " friends; becauſe on all important occaſions it would " inſtall partiality on the ſeats of juſtice and in the coun- " cils, as it always prefers the welfare of the Order to that " of the ſtate, and the intereſts of its adepts to thoſe of the " prophane. Experience had convinced us, that they would " ſoon ſucceed in perverting all the Bavarian youth. The " leading feature in the generality of their adepts were irre- " ligion, depravity of morals, diſobedience to their prince " and to their parents, and the neglect of all uſeful ſtudies. " We ſaw that the fatal conſequence of Illuminiſm would " be, to create a general diſtruſt between the prince and his " ſubjects, the father and his children, the miniſter and his " ſecretaries, and between the different tribunals and coun- " cils. We were not to be deterred by that threat ſo often " repeated, *That no Prince can ſave him that betrays us.* " We have abandoned, one after the other, this Sect, which, " *under different names*, as we have been informed by ſe- " veral of our former Brethren, has already ſpread itſelf " *in Italy, and particularly at Venice, in Auſtria, in Hol-* " *land, in Saxony on the Rhine, particularly at Frank-* " *fort, and even as far as America.*—The Illuminees " meddle as much as poſſible in ſtate affairs, and excite " troubles wherever their Order can be benefitted by " them."

Here followed a liſt of a great many *inviſibles*, of ſeve- ral ſuperiors, and of ſome of the moſt active members. A ſecond liſt contained perſons who, though as yet unac- quainted with the ultimate views of the Order, were zea- lous and active Recruiters, but the government thought fit to keep theſe two liſts ſecret. The deponents then pro- ceed :

" We are not unacquainted with the other *inviſibles*, " who in all probability are chiefs of a higher degree.

" After we had retired from the Order, the Illuminees " calumniated us on all ſides in the moſt infamous man- " ner. Their cabal made us fail in every requeſt we pre- " ſented; ſucceeding in rendering us hateful and odious " to our ſuperiors, they even carried their calumnies ſo " far as to pretend that one of us had committed murder. " After a year's perſecution, an Illuminee came to repre- " ſent to the Aulic Counſellor Utzſchneider, that from ex-

« perience he muſt have learned that he was every where « perſecuted by the Order; that unleſs he could contrive « to regain its protection, he would never ſucceed in any « of his demands; and that he could ſtill regain admis- « ſion."

Here ends the depoſition ſigned by the three deponents. After their ſignature follows the atteſtation, that each of the deponents had been called in ſeparately in preſence of the Commiſſary, and their reſpective declarations read to them; and that each had affirmed the truth of the contents on oath, as witneſſes, the 10th of September, 1785. I leave the reader to make his reflections on the ſtrength and nature of theſe firſt proofs acquired againſt Illuminiſm; and proceed immediately to the circumſtances which diſcloſed the ulterior projects of the Sect.

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of the Diſcoveries made in Bavaria as to the Illuminees.—Proceedings of the Court with reſpect to the Chiefs of the Sect.—A few Remarks on and a Liſt of the principal Adepts.

NOTWITHSTANDING the important diſcoveries made by the court of Bavaria, proofs were ſtill wanting of the plans and of the ultimate views of Illuminiſm, which the Sect concealed with ſo much care, and of which none of the witneſſes could give any ſatisfactory account. The court had neglected to ſeize Weiſhaupt's papers at the time; and it was clear that the adepts had taken every precaution to put theirs beyond the power of the moſt diligent ſearch. The court even appeared to pay little or no attention to the proper ſteps that ſhould be taken, and only watched the motions of thoſe adepts who ſtill kept up a correſpondence with their chiefs. If we are to credit the apology publiſhed by the Illuminees, it was for no other reaſon that DELLING, municipal officer of Munich, and KRENNER, profeſſor at Ingolſtadt, were diſmiſſed from their employments. On the ſame account, they tell us, were the Count Savioli and the Marquis Conſtanza exiled from Bavaria, and the Baron Maggenhoff condemned to a month's impriſoment in a monaſtery.

Puniſhment of ſome of the adepts.

This apologiſt alſo pretends, that the Canon Hertel was deprived of his benefice, becauſe he would not give in an account of the funds belonging to the Illuminees.—But after the different parts that we have ſeen theſe adepts perform, it appears that the court was pretty well informed; and it certainly gave a great proof of its clemency when it allowed *Brutus*-Savioli and *Diomedes*-Conſtanza a penſion which they were at liberty to expend wherever they choſe, excepting in Bavaria. Light, however, as theſe puniſhments were for conſpirators of their ſtamp, the Illuminees filled all Germany with their reclamations, crying out againſt a perſecution which they repreſented as the height of deſpotiſm, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. The

depoſitions that had been made were publiſhed, and the authors of them were immediately aſſailed with a torrent of abuſe, ſophiſtry, and calumny; nor was the court ſpared. The whole buſineſs appeared to be changed into a literary war, in which the impudence of the apologiſts had very nigh ſucceeded in caſting doubts on the wiſdom and juſtice of his Electoral Highneſs;* and it was high time to have recourſe to ſuch meaſures as could inconteſtibly prove the guilt of the Sect.

The archives of the Sect diſcovered.

At length, on the 11th of October, 1786, the magiſtrates, by order of the Elector, made a viſit at *Cato-Zwack's* houſe, at a time when he leaſt expected it. Others went on the ſame commiſſion to the caſtle of Sanderdorf, belonging to *Hannibal* Baron Baſſus. The reſult of theſe viſitations was, the diſcovery of a multitude of letters, diſcourſes, rules, plans, and ſtatutes, which may be looked upon as the archives of the conſpirators, and have been publiſhed under the title of *Original Writings of the Order and of the Sect of the Illuminees.* The conſpiracy of which Weiſhaupt was the chief, now appeared in ſuch horrid colors, that one could ſcarcely believe human wickedneſs to have been able to deviſe it. But at the head of each of theſe two volumes is an advertiſement, informing all readers, that orders have been given by the Elector to the keeper of his archives to ſhow the originals to whoever might wiſh to verify them. The only reſource now left to the conſpirators was to complain of the violation of domeſtic ſecrecy. Pretended juſtifications ſwarmed again from the adepts; and they had the impudence to aſſert, that theſe letters, ſo far from containing any thing militating againſt ſociety or religion, only contained views for the happineſs and amelioration of mankind. They made every attempt poſſible to give plauſible interpretations to their letters; but they never dared aſſert that any of theſe writings had been forged. Their own avowals are to be found in their apologies; and the proofs of their antireligious and antiſocial conſpiracy reſt

* For the whole of this literary war, ſee the *Apologie der Illuminaten*, and the addition *Nachtracht zu der Apologie*, &c. alſo the anſwer of the deponents *Groſſe abſechten des Orders der Illuminaten;* the addition to theſe anſwers *Nachtrach*, &c. No. 1, 2, 3.

upon ſuch inconteſtible grounds, that their ſophiſms can never invalidate them.*

The court of Bavaria, when it gave ſo great a publicity to the proofs it had thus acquired, was not actuated ſolely by a view of juſtifying its own conduct; but it was deſirous alſo to warn every ſtate of the dangers with which it was threatened. The Elector, therefore, ſent a copy of theſe Original Writings to all the powers of Europe; and the anſwers of the different miniſters proved, that they had all received theſe documents of a moſt monſtrous conſpiracy againſt every church and ſtate. The hiſtorian will naturally aſk, how it came to paſs that the knowledge of theſe proofs of a conſpiracy, at once ſo evident and ſo threatening to every ſtate in the world, ſhould have been ſo long confined to Germany. And how it happened, that theſe Original Writings did not become the daily lectures of every family. Should not every father have read it to his children, and explained to them the horrid machinations that were contriving againſt their God, their country, and their property? Univerſal indignation muſt have ſeized every mind, and cruſhed theſe illuminizing monſters in their cradle. Such at leaſt were the fears which the conſpirators themſelves had conceived on ſeeing their plans and means diſcovered. Unable to deſtroy the proofs, they did every thing in their power to hinder their circulation. On the other hand, few miniſters were aware of the immenſe influence and power of ſecret ſocieties; and the Bavarian aſſociation appeared to them more deſpicable than dangerous; the very exceſs of their conſpiracy gave it a more chimerical appearance; and the policy of ſome ſtateſmen might have made them believe that the publication of the archives of theſe conſpirators would only ſerve to accredit their ſophiſms, and add to the danger by divulging their principles.

Why this diſcovery makes ſo little impreſſion on other courts.

Laſtly, the language in which they were written was little known in the other parts of Europe; and it was thought beſt to leave them in a profound oblivion. Such

* For theſe avowals ſee the Apology of *Cato-Zwack*; the Preface of Weiſhaupt's *Illuminiſm corrected;* the Baron Baſſus's Defence; and particularly the *Laſt Obſervations* by Knigge.—*Philo*, in this latter work, very frankly acknowledges all the letters that are attributed to him in the Original Writings, and he frequently quotes Weiſhaupt's letters as being equally authentic with his own.

may be the explanation of this ſpecies of phenomenon, or of this total ignorance in which the reſt of the world were, with reſpect to the nature and views of the Illuminees, when I announced to the public the uſe I intended to make of them in theſe Memoirs.

Even in Germany.

A myſtery ſtill more aſtoniſhing, and which could not have been believed, had not the progreſs of the Illuminees proved it, is that inactivity or ſomnolency in which all the German courts appeared to be buried in the midſt of the dangers that had been ſo clearly pointed out to them by the court of Bavaria. Unfortunately for the Empire, Frederic II. of Pruſſia died a little before theſe laſt proofs were acquired againſt the Illuminees. No ſooner did this Prince hear of the conſpiracy, than he immediately traced all thoſe principles of ſedition and anarchy which he had already been obliged to divulge as the tenets of the Sophiſters; the Illuminees even pretend it to have been at his inſtigation that the court of Munich proſecuted their chief and the firſt adepts who were diſcovered.* What would he not have done himſelf againſt this Sect, if he he had but ſeen in the Original Writings the progreſs that it was making in his own ſtates! Miniſters, under a Prince ſo tenacious as he was of the authority neceſſary to ſupport his Government, and ſo juſtly offended as he was againſt the Sophiſters of Rebellion, would not have ſneered or replied ſarcaſtically to thoſe letters which the court of Bavaria tranſmitted as introductory and explanatory, together with the proofs acquired againſt the Sect. But the archives of Illuminiſm were not diſcovered till the 11th and 12th October, 1786, and Frederic had died on the 17th of Auguſt of that year. His ſucceſſor was a prey to adepts of another ſpecies, almoſt as great knaves as thoſe of Bavaria. The Emperor Joſeph had not yet been undeceived with reſpect to the Lodges that ſurrounded him. Many other Princes were either ſeduced, or ſo fettered by the Illuminees that they could not act. This may ſerve to account for their apparent indifference; and it alſo explains the circumſtance of ſeveral of them having viewed the proceedings of the court of Munich in the light of an abſolute perſecution of their own Brethren.—The Prince Biſhop of Ratiſbon was the only one who

* See Memorial inſerted in No. 12 of the *Weltkunde*, the *Tubingen* Gazette.

ſeemed to know his danger, and who publiſhed edicts in ſupport of thoſe iſſued by the Elector.

Other ſecrets found with the Original Writings.

Nevertheleſs, the proofs publiſhed by the court of Bavaria are thoſe whence the moſt evident demonſtration of the plots of Illuminiſm have been deduced in theſe Memoirs. The very ſcraps of paper found among the archives indicate the moſt conſummate villany. Among theſe were, chiefly in *Ajax*-Maſſenhauſen's hand, and in the cypher of the Order, *receipts* for making the *aqua toffana*, the moſt acute of all poiſons; for *procuring abortion in women*; and for *poiſoning the air of an apartment:* alſo a collection of *one hundred and thirty ſeals of Princes, Noblemen, and Bankers*, with the ſecret of taking off and imitating all thoſe for which the Order might, according to circumſtances, have occaſion. The deſcription of a lock, of which the adepts only ſhould have the ſecret, was likewiſe contained in theſe papers; alſo the model of a coffer wherein to preſerve their papers, and which ſhould take fire immediately if any of the prophane attempted to open it. On other detached papers were to be ſeen the plan for placing ſome adepts in the ſuite of an ambaſſador, who ſhould then carry on ſome commerce as fraudulent as it was lucrative for the Sect. Alſo the ſecret intimation, that all the Superiors of Illuminiſm ſhould know how *to write with both hands*. A manuſcript alſo was found entirely in Zwack's hand writing, and looked upon as very precious by the Order, becauſe, under the title *Better than Horus*, it contained all the blaſphemies of Atheiſm.*

More adepts puniſhed.

Notwithſtanding the little impreſſion the publication of theſe diſcoveries had made on the other Princes of Germany, the court of Bavaria continued its proſecutions againſt the Sect. About twenty of the adepts were cited to appear; ſome were diſmiſſed from their employments, others condemned to a few years impriſonment; and ſome, particularly Zwack, ſaved themſelves by flight. The Elector's Tribunal could not by any calumny be accuſed of being ſanguinary, as not one of the adepts was condemned to death. This puniſhment ſeemed to be reſerved for Weiſhaupt alone, and a price was ſet upon his head. The Regency of Ratiſbon, which, in the firſt inſtance, had refuſed to drive him from their territories, no

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Sect. 18, 19, 21.

longer dared to support him, at least not openly; and he took refuge under His Highness the Duke of Saxe-Gotha. The reason why the Founder of Illuminism, and a number of his proscribed adepts, found protection and still continue in favor at so many courts, may be explained by the numerous disciples who enjoyed places of high importance in the different courts, and some of whom, indeed, were the Princes themselves. The list of these latter, were it accurately made out, would astonish posterity; more particularly, should the art with which Weishaupt seduced them, by truncating the mysteries, have escaped the notice of the historian; or should the means have remained a secret by which he blinded them and bound them to the Order, by surrounding them with adepts who know how to seize on the ministry, on the *Deccasteres*, or councils, and occupied all the places of consequence by themselves or their creatures.

Why they are received at other courts.

Illuminized Princes

I will not pretend to say, that these artifices of Illuminism can excuse those Princes for becoming disciples of Weishaupt. But most certainly they were rendered the dupes of his impiety before they became the sport of his conspiracies; and undoubtedly the latter was but the just punishment of the former. However this may be, we find Lewis Ernest of Saxe Gotha at the head of these adepts under the characteristic of *Timoleon*. According to all the letters that I have received from Germany, this Prince is at length conscious of his error. He, at present, pays much greater attention to the happiness of his subjects than to the mysteries of the Sect. Weishaupt is not even allowed to appear in his presence; but the goodness of his heart will not allow the Prince to withdraw his benefactions even from those who have incurred his displeasure. It is thus, at least, that the pension he allows to the Founder of Illuminism is explained.* But on the other hand, Weishaupt is far from being excluded from the presence of Maria Charlotte Meinungen, the wife of His Highness; and thus is explained the asylum which the

* I am also informed, that this pension is not taken from the *public treasury*, (as I said in my third volume, page 2,) but from the Duke's private purse. Those indeed who look upon the superfluities of this purse as foreign to the duties that a Prince owes to the public, to decency, or to his own honor and reputation, may make the distinction. I, for one, at least, shall never adopt it.

contriver of such horrid plots still finds at that court, notwithstanding the conversion of the Prince.

I will not pretend to pronounce whether AUGUSTUS of SAXE GOTHA has imbibed a similar disgust for Illuminism, as has his Brother the reigning Prince. At the time of Weishaupt's arrival, however, he was also an adept under the characteristic of *Prince Walter*.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS DUKE of SAXE WEIMAR was also initiated under the title of *Eschylus*; but he renounced the mysteries of the Sect.

The late PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK, at once the martial hero of Minden, and the Masonic leader at Willemsbaden, fell a prey to all sorts of Illuminism.—Wilhermots had begun by initiating him in the Illuminism of Swedenborg, and of the Martinists. His frequent conferences with Knigge seduced him into that of Weishaupt, who created him his Brother or his High Priest *Aaron*, and His Highness died during his Priesthood.

As to the late PRINCE OF NEUWIED, I know not what name was given him in recompense for his devotion to the Sect; but at his court it might with truth be said, the Illuminees had acquired such an ascendancy, that if they had gained a similar one in other parts, the world must have been theirs. This unfortunate Prince little thought that his own son would be deprived of all power in his own states, and that he would be reduced humbly to solicit the Comitia of the Empire for leave to assert his own rights, and to drive out from his states those adepts that had been protected by his Father, and his Uncle, the Count Stolberg; or at least for leave to dismiss them from the employments they occupied, even from that of the education of his children, which they had seized upon in spite of him.*

* This law-suit between the Prince and Illuminism is of a most extraordinary nature indeed. The reader shall hear him state his case himself to the Diet of Ratisbon in the year 1794:

"Every one is acquainted with what this Sect has done in "France. We have also seen extraordinary instances of its "power at Neuwied: It has a Lodge here called the *Three* "*Peacocks*. My Father and my first Wife greatly favored these "adepts, and my present one in particular is the great pro-"tectrix of several of them; of that Pastor WINZ for example, "who, notwithstanding the great service I rendered him in "stifling a prosecution against him for Socinianism, is now one

Another ſpecies of adept is My Lord the BARON OF DALBERG, Coadjutor to the Sees of Mentz, Worms, and Conſtanz, and Governor of the town and country of Erfort. We are led to ſhrink back in aſtoniſhment, and examine whether our eyes do not impoſe upon us, at the ſight of a Biſhop, intended to occupy the firſt Eccleſiaſtical and Electoral See in Germany, ranked among this Illuminized Brotherhood. Moreover, perſons who had often been in company with His Lordſhip inſiſted on my effacing his name from theſe Memoirs. They aſſured me, that he held the principles of the modern Philoſophers in the utmoſt deteſtation, and that to them he attributed the French Revolution. I then produced a pamphlet publiſhed by His Lordſhip, with all his titles and his name at the head of it, entitled, *Of the Influence of Science and of the Polite Arts on the Public Tranquillity—At Erfort*, 1793. They then ſaw that the object of this pamphlet was *to ſtifle in the germs* what His Lordſhip calls *noxious prejudices of ſome ſhort-ſighted good people*, by proving to them that neither the Philoſophers nor the Sophiſters of the age had given riſe to the French Revolution, and *that Condorcet himſelf had but little contributed*

" of my greateſt enemies. She was alſo very cloſely connected " with the Aulic Counſellor KRÖBER (the adept *Agis*). One " SCHWARTZ, from Brunſwick, and a titular major of Weimar, " to whom my Father entruſted the education of one of my " children, and who, to my great grief, has ſtill two of them " under his care, is alſo a great favorite of the Princeſs's; ſhe " has placed her whole confidence in him, and ſees him very " often, although letters from Brunſwick depict him in the light " of a moſt deteſtable intriguer. Several Counſellors and vari- " ous officers and other inhabitants of Neuwied are, like him, " members of the Sect, and are in an agreement with the Prin- " ceſs. It is notorious, that they are all bound by oath mutual- " ly to ſupport each other. They have alſo gained over various " other perſons who do not belong to their Order; and thus an " aſſociation has been formed for my deſtruction."

In fact, the Illuminees had ſucceeded in getting this Prince placed under an interdict in his own ſtates; he accuſed ſeveral of his firſt judges as being adepts: It coſt them little to declare on their oaths that they were not, and ſome indeed no longer continued attached to the Sect. This incident occaſioned him much unpleaſant trouble; but at length he was reinſtated in his poſſeſſions after a very long law-ſuit, which muſt have taught the German Princes how well Illuminiſm can take advantage of its power when once it has ſucceeded in ſurrounding them.

towards it. This pamphlet alſo abounded in thoſe arguments of Illuminized Philoſophiſm which the Sect ſet forth to dupe nations as to the tendency of their conſpiracy; I did not therefore efface the name of his Lordſhip; I, on the contrary, ſubjoined that of *Creſcens*, his characteriſtic among the Illuminees. How is it poſſible that at ſuch a name he could refrain from ſhuddering with horror! and what ſervices could the Order expect from him under ſuch a characteriſtic?—The name of *Creſcens* has only been tranſmitted to poſterity by his addiction to the infamous debauchery of the Cynic Philoſophers, and by his calumnies againſt the Chriſtians, which obliged St. Juſtin to write his Second apology for Chriſtianity. A proteſtant who is eager to ſee that of His Lordſhip tells us, that it will moſt certainly appear in its proper time, and we impatiently wait for it!* We ſhall there find, I hope, that His Lordſhip had not been initiated into all the ſecrets of the Sect. They muſt at leaſt have concealed from him their deſigns upon the Sees of Mentz, Worms, and Conſtanz, to which His Lordſhip was Coadjutor.——In all probability, theſe were not the ſecrets of which his Secretary *Cryſippus*-KOLBORN informed him, who admitted to the degree of Epopt, *was already become a half-naturaliſt without knowing it*, and from whom Knigge expected the greateſt ſervices.† But can this characteriſtic of *Creſcens* denote any other view than that of ſeducing His Lordſhip into an apoſtacy ſimilar to that of his Secretary? We can only repeat, that it is with great anxiety we wait for His Lordſhip's Apology.

But what other Apology, than a clear and public profeſſion of faith, and an abjuration of Illuminiſm, can reinſtate the honor of the Prelate HASLEIN, known in the Sect as the Brother *Philo of Byblos!* The Original Writings deſcribe this adept prelate as overloaded with work. It is an unfortunate circumſtance for him to have been able to find time to pen letters and plans that could have placed him in ſuch great eſtimation with the chiefs of theſe conſpirators.‡ and others.

* See the Eudemonia, Vol. IV. No 5, Letter of Doctor *J. H. Jung*.

† Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 1, from *Philo*.

‡ Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. from *Dionedes*, and Vol. II. Letter 1, from *Philo*.

Among the higher class of adepts may be ranked *Alexander*, or the general Count of PAPPENHEIM, Governor of Ingolstadt, and *Alfred* the Count of SEINSHEIM, Minister and Vice-President of the Council at Munich. At getting possession of this latter Minister, Weishaupt exults, and on giving him the characteristic of *Alfred* he thus writes to *Cato*:—"What great men we daily gain "over to our party at *Athens* (Munich), and that with- "out its being perceived! Men much considered, ready "formed, and perfect models!" Weishaupt does not wish to see this adept in *leading strings*, and therefore dispenses with his noviciate. He also hopes, with a little care on the part of the recruiters, *to see his Excellency become one of his greatest enthusiasts*; and he soon found that he had judged accurately of his pupil. The adept Minister goes of his own accord to Ingolstadt to be present at the inauguration of an illuminized church, where Weishaupt does the honors in a new discourse prepared for the occasion. Full of admiration at the lessons of the Chief, the illuminized Minister becomes the carrier of this discourse to the Brethren at Munich; and all the town of Ingolstadt were surprized at seeing the Minister, with so many other of the Brethren, come to visit Weishaupt.* At length the day arrives when the object of this visit ceases to be a mystery, and the adept Minister is condemned to a short exile: but it still remains to be known, whether it is a sincere repentance for his past enthusiasm, or some new intrigue or secret influence of the Brethren, that has recalled him and reinstated him in his former dignities at the Court of Munich. All that I can gather from my correspondence at Bavaria is, that Illuminism is very far from having lost its influence in that country.

Another adept, dear to the Sect, is the Count KOLLOWRATH, the *Numenius* of Knigge, and whom Weishaupt wished to cure of his theosophical ideas. He was, however, entrusted to the care of *Brutus* Count SAVIOLI, who, observing him pass too suddenly to doubts on *the immortality of the soul*, began to suspect that his sudden conversions to the systems of Illuminism was only pretended, in order that he might gain admission to the secrets of the Order. If he ever attained the higher degrees, it was not at least with the enthusiasm of *Alfred*.†

* Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter 7, 9, 18.
† Original Writings, Vol. II. Letter from *Brutus*.

Weiſhaupt alſo claſſed *Chabrias*, the Baron WALDENSELS, at Cologne, among the adepts of high rank: He was the Miniſter of the Elector; but no ſooner had he diſcovered the knavery of the higher myſteries than he abandoned the Order. *Ptolemeus Lagus*, or that ſame Baron RIEDSEL, who, in *Minos*-Dittfurt's plan, was to have had the direction of the Illuminized Siſterhood, imitated this example. We cannot hope, however, to tear the maſk from all thoſe conſpirators whom Weiſhaupt has encompaſſed with darkneſs, and who ſhould rank among the higher claſs of adepts. The Liſt that was publiſhed ſoon after the Original Writings, contains chiefly thoſe whom my reader have already ſeen in the courſe of this work. I ſhall, however, ſubjoin it here with ſuch obſervations as time has ſince enabled me to make. There will appear adepts ſcattered throughout the Councils, the Magiſtracy, the Army, and the houſes for public Education; and this general view will better enable the reader to judge of the care with which the Conſpirators ſought to occupy the moſt important poſts of ſociety while they planned its ruin.

Liſt of the principal Illuminees from the Foundation of the Sect in 1776, *till the Diſcovery of the Original Writings in* 1786.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Spartacus -	WEISHAUPT, Profeſſor of Laws at Ingolſtadt, and Founder of the Sect.
Agrippa -	WILL, Profeſſor at Ingolſtadt.
Ajax -	MASSENHAUSEN, Counſellor at Munich.
Alcibiades -	HOHENEICHER, Councellor at Munich.
Alexander -	Count PAPPENHEIM, General and Governor of Ingolſtadt.
Alfred -	Count SEINSHEIM, Vice-Preſident at Munich, firſt exiled as an Illuminee, then ſent from Deux-Ponts to Ratiſbon, and at length returned to, and in place at Munich.
Arrian -	Count COBENZEL, Treaſurer at Aichſtadt.
Attila -	SAUER, Chancellor at Ratiſbon.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Brutus -	Count SAVIOLI, Counſellor at Munich.
Cato - - (alſo *Danaus* and *Philip-Strozzi*)	XAVERIUS-ZWACK, Aulic Counſellor, and Counſellor of the Regency. Exiled as an adept.
Celſus -	BAADER, Phyſician to the Electreſs-Dowager.
Claudius -	SIMON-ZWACK.
Confucius - (at firſt *Zoroaſter*)	BAIERHAMMER, Judge at Dieſen.
Coriolanus -	TROPONERO, Counſellor at Munich.
Dionedes -	Marquis of COSTANZA, Counſellor at Munich.
Epictetus -	MIEG, Counſellor at Heidelberg.
Epimenides -	FALK, Counſellor and Burgomaſter at Hanover.
Euclid -	RIEDL, Counſellor at Munich.
Hannibal -	Baron BASSUS, a Swiſs from the Griſons.
Hermes Triſmegiſtus	SOLCHER, Curate at Haching.
Livius -	RUDORGER, Secretary of the States at Munich.
Ludovicus Bavarus -	LORI, diſmiſſed from the Order.
Mahomet -	Baron SCHROEKENSTEIN.
Marius -	HERTEL, Canon of, and exiled from Munich.
Menelaus -	WERNER, Counſellor at Munich.
Minos -	Baron DITTFURT, Aſſeſſor to the Imperial Chamber of Wetzlar.
Mocnius -	DUFRESNE, Commiſſary at Munich.
Muſes -	Baron MONJELLAY, exiled from Munich, received and placed at Deux-Ponts.
Numa -	SONNENSELS, Counſellor at Vienna, and Cenſor.
Numa Pompilius	Count LODRON, Counſellor at Munich.
Pericles -	Baron PECKER, Judge at Amberg.
Philo -	Baron KNIGGE, in the ſervice of Bremen.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Philo of Byblos	The Prelate HASLEIN, Vice-Preſident of the Spiritual Council at Munich, and Biſhop *In Partibus.*
Pythagoras -	DREXL, Librarian at Munich.
Raimond de Lulle	FRONHOWER, Counſeller at Munich.
Simonides -	RULING, Counſellor at Hanover.
Solon -	MICHT, an Eccleſiaſtic at Freyſinguen.
Spinoſa -	MÜNTER, Attorney at Hanover.
Sylla -	Baron MAGGENHOFF, Captain in the Bavarian ſervice.
Tamerlane -	LANG, Counſellor at Aichſtadt.
Thales -	KAPFIMGER, Secretary to Count Tattenbach.
Tiberius -	MERZ, exiled from Bavaria, ſince Secretary to the Ambaſſador of the Empire at Copenhagen.
Veſpaſian -	Baron HORNSTEIN, of Munich.*

This Liſt appears to have been chiefly compiled for the Bavarian adepts in the firſt volume of the Original Writings. The ſecond volume might furniſh us with the following additions, beſides a multitude of other adepts whoſe true names have not been diſcovered. Thoſe whoſe names are not followed by the page quoted from the Original Writings in this liſt, have been ſent to me in Private Memorials and Letters, or are extracted from Public Journals.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Aaron -	This adept is only mentioned under the initials P. F. V. B. *(Prince Ferdinand von Brunſwig)*, both when he ſends for Knigge, and when he promiſes his protection to the adept who is to *Illuminize* ENGLAND, (P. 122 and 184.)
Accacius -	Doctor KOPPE, Superintendant firſt at Gotha, afterwards at Hanover, (P. 123.)

* This Liſt is taken from that publiſhed in the German Journals.

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Agathocles -	SCHMERBER, Merchant at Frankfort on the Mein, (P. 10.)
Agis -	KROBER, Governor of the Prince of Stolberg's children at Neuweid, (P. 181.)
Alberoni -	BLEUDETREU, formerly a Jew, afterwards a Counſellor of the Chamber at Neuweid, (P. 181.)
Amelius -	BODE, Privy Counſellor at Weimar, (P. 213 and 221, &c.)
Archelaus -	DE BARRES, formerly a Major in the French ſervice, (P. 183.)
Ariſtodemes -	COMPE, High Bailiff at Weinburg in the Electorate of Hanover.
Bayard -	Baron BUSCHE, a Hanoverian in the Dutch ſervice, (P. 195.)
Beliſarius -	PETERSON, at Worms.
Campanella -	Count STOLBERG, the maternal uncle of the Prince of Neuweid; and with him may be compriſed the whole court, the favorites, ſecretaries, and council without exception, (P. 69 and 189.)
Cornelius Scipio	BERGER, a Lecturer at Munich, (P. 220.)
Creſcens -	Baron DALBERG, Coadjutor of Mentz, *(from Memorials, Letters, and German Journals.)*
Chryſippus -	KOLBORN, Secretary to the Baron Dalberg, (P. 73 and 100.)
Cyril -	SCHWEICKART, at Worms.
Goteſcalc -	MOLDENHAUER, Proteſtant Profeſſor of Divinity at Keil in Holſtein, (P. 198.)
Hegeſias -	Baron GREIFENCLAU, of Mentz, (P. 196.)
Leveller -	LEUCHSENRING, an Alſacian, and Preceptor to the Princes of Heſſe Darmſtadt; driven from Berlin, he took refuge at Paris.
Lucian -	NICOLAI, Bookſeller and Journaliſt at Berlin (P. 28.)

Characteriſtics.	Real Names of the Adepts.
Manethon -	SCHMELZER, Eccleſiaſtical Counſellor at Mentz, (P. 196.)
Marcus Aurelius	FEDER,* Profeſſor at Gottinguen, (P. 81.)
——— -	MÜNTER, Profeſſor of Divinity at Copenhagen, (P. 123.)
Numenius -	Count KOLLOWRATH, at Vienna, (P. 199.)
Peter Cotton	VOLGER, Phyſician at Neuweid, (P. 188.)
Pic de la Mirandole	BRUNNER, Prieſt at Tiefenback in the Biſhoprick of Spire, (P. 174.)
Theognis -	FISCHER, Lutheran Miniſter in Auſtria, (P. 204.)
——— -	RONTGEN, Proteſtant Miniſter at Petkam, in Eaſt Frieſland, and *the* ENGLISH APOSTLE *of Illuminiſm.*
Timoleon -	ERNEST LEWIS, Duke of Saxe Gotha, *(Private Memorials.)*
Prince Walter	AUGUSTUS of Saxe Gotha, *(Ibid.)*

We do not add to this Liſt *Eſchylus*, or Charles Auguſtus of Saxe Weimar, as he has declined the honor of continuing one of Weiſhaupt's diſciples. The late Prince of Neuwied might be ſubjoined for many reaſons, and he would make the fifth Prince well known to have been connected with the Sect; but he is no more, and we have not ſufficient proofs to inſcribe on the liſt ſeveral others of that claſs who in Germany are ſuppoſed to belong to the Sect.

Z

* It was on ſeeing the ſtrong illuſion of his degree of Epopt (ſo ſtrangely impious) on the Doctors Feder and Koppe, and ſome others of the Univerſity of Gottinguen, that Weiſhaupt wrote to *Cato*, "You cannot conceive how much my "degree of *Prieſt* or *Epopt* is admired by our people; but "what is the moſt extraordinary is, that ſeveral great Proteſ-"tant and Reformed Divines, who are of our Order, really be-"lieve that that part of the diſcourſe which alludes to religion "contains the true ſpirit and real ſenſe of Chriſtianity. *Poor* "*mortals, what could I not make you believe!*" Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 18.

CHAP. IX.

New Chiefs and new Means of the Illuminees—Device of the Jesuits Masonry and Success of that Imposture.

State and dispositons of the Sect after their discovery.

AMONG the secret writings that the Sect had in vain sought to conceal from the eyes of justice, was one on which was found in *Cato*-Zwack's hand-writing, this remarkable marginal note: "In order to re-establish "our affairs, let some of the ablest of those brethren who "have avoided our misfortunes take the places of our "founders; let them get rid of the discontented, and, in "concert with the new elect, labor to restore our society "to its primitive vigor."* Weishaupt had scarcely left Ingolstadt when he threatened those who dismissed him, that ere long *their joy should be converted into sorrow*;† and it was evident that the Illuminees were far from having abandoned their conspiracy. Notwithstanding, however, the awful and menacing aspect which it presented, the different powers, it would seem, affected to leave the conspirators in possession of means to prosecute their illuminizing plans with greater activity.

If we except Weishaupt, no adept in Bavaria had been condemned to a severer punishment than exile or a short imprisonment. In other parts, from Livonia to Strasbourg, and from Holstein to Venice, not a single inquiry had been made concerning their lodges. Many of those adepts who had been convicted of the deepest guilt had met with protection instead of indignation in the different courts. Notwithstading the clearest proofs of his guilt had been adduced, we see Zwack, a very few days after, producing certificates of his probity and fidelity to his prince, which had more the appearance of having been issued by his accomplices than by the Aulic Council;‡ and the Prince of Salm Kyrbourg calls him to his court, in all probability to be served with a similar sort of fidelity!! The

* Original Writings, Vol. I. last pages.

† His Letter to Fischer.

‡ See his Appendix to the Original Writings, P. 35 and 36.

conſpirators *Brutus*-Savioli and *Diomedes*-Conſtanza might continue to recruit for the Sect, provided it was not in Bavaria, and that at the expenſe of the Prince who had diſcovered their plots. *Tiberius*-Merz, whoſe infamous morals are recorded in the Original Writings, barefacedly eſcorted them in the retinue of the ambaſſador of the empire to Copenhagen. *Alfred*-Seinſheim merely bartered the favor of his Prince for that of the Duke de Deux-Ponts, and an intrigue was immediately ſet on foot to reinſtate him at Munich. *Spartacus* himſelf tranquilly enjoyed his aſylum and a penſion at court, though he had conſpired to annihilate every Prince. Never had ſo monſtrous a conſpiracy been diſcovered or ſo publicly denounced; yet never were conſpirators ſo amply ſupplied with the means of continuing their plots by thoſe even againſt whom they were conſpiring. Thus plainly did every thing denote that the flight of Weiſhaupt would be to Illuminiſm, what the *Hegira* of Mahomet had formerly been to Moſlemiſm, only the prelude to a greater and more ſplendid ſucceſs. Experience now taught Weiſhaupt to combine new means according to his favorite maxim of *appearing idle in the midſt of the greateſt activity*. Perhaps alſo, content with having laid the foundations of his conſpiracy, and with having arrived at that day which he had long ſince foretold, when he could defy the powers of the earth to deſtroy his fabric; or, perhaps, ſatisfied at ſeeing he had now formed men able to preſide over his Areopage; he ſimply gave his advice on important occaſions, leaving the common details, the functions of an ordinary chief, to other adepts. However that may be, though it were proved that he had given up the dignity of chief, though the archives of the Sect were more deeply concealed than they are, yet proofs of the plots which they are now proſecuting would not be wanting. Their public actions ſhall in future depoſe againſt them in default of their ſecret archives. The adepts were known; it was therefore eaſy to watch their labors and compare their devices. The German writers have had the ſtart of us in that career; hiſtory, therefore, will not be deſtitute of demonſtrative proofs.

They attempt to conceal their exiſtence.

The grand object of the Illuminees, after the diſcovery of their ſecret papers, was to perſuade Germany that their Order was extinct; that the adepts had not only renounced all their illuminizing myſteries, but even all intercourſe

among themſelves as members of a ſecret ſociety. Theſe are not the firſt Brigands or the firſt Sectaries on record that have wiſhed to make the world believe the idea of their exiſtence to be chimerical, even at the very time when they were moſt actively promoting their plots and propagating their principles. But here error has belied itſelf even in the mouths of its moſt zealous advocates. On the firſt appearance of thoſe works that denounced to the Britiſh nation at large the conſpiracy of the Illuminees, and ſhewed how they were proſecuting their plots in the occult Lodges of Maſonry, the zealous brethren inhabiting the banks of the Thames called on their German allies for ſuccor, in order to deſtroy thoſe ill impreſſions which the *Life of Zimmerman*, *Mr. Robiſon's Proofs*, and theſe *Memoirs*, were making. The complaints of the Engliſh fraternity, and the anſwer of their auxiliary Brother Boetiger, are inſerted in the German Mercury, No. 11, page 267. Nearly the ſame anſwer has croſſed the ſeas, in order to inform the Engliſh, thro' the channel of the *Monthly Magazine* of January 1798, page 3, that whoever ſhould turn his reſearches toward Illuminiſm would be in purſuit of a chimera, "as *from* "*the beginning of the year* 1790, EVERY CONCERN OF "THE ILLUMINATI HAS CEASED, *and no Lodge of* "*Free-maſons in Germany* has, ſince that period, taken "the leaſt notice of them. Evident proofs of this aſſer- "tion are to be found among the papers of Mr. Bode, "late Privy Counſellor at Weimar, *who was at the head* "*of the Order* in this part of Germany, and who died in "1794."

Strange avowal relating to the Sect.

The foregoing paſſage, written by Mr. Boetiger, may be obſerved to include a very ſingular avowal, which has already been noticed in Germany to the great confuſion of the adepts. Some zealous writers have told them:—You now own then, that the myſteries of Illuminiſm had become thoſe of the Maſonic Lodges, and that they had continued to be ſo till the year 1790; thoſe journaliſts and other authors, therefore, who inceſſantly called the attention of ſovereigns to the Illuminees, were not miſtaken; and Zimmerman, Hoffman, and Dr. Stark, with ſo many other writers whoſe works the Sect wiſhed to ſuppreſs, were correct in publicly proclaiming that this diſaſtrous Sect had not been annihilated when its plots were diſcovered in 1786, and much leſs ſo in 1785, as the adept

writers of the Brotherhood or their hirelings had attempted to perſuade the world.* Now the conſpirators think that it would ſuffice for their purpoſe to make the world believe that the idea of their exiſtence *ſince the year* 1790 is chimerical. This artifice alſo ſhall be unmaſked, and nations ſhall be convinced that though this Sect may have changed its form, yet that in ſo doing it has only invigorated itſelf, and acquired new means of corruption.

Bode the new chief of the Sect.

The *Sieur Boetiger*, the Quixotte of the Illuminees, and of the Brother Bode in particular, alſo makes another avowal, viz. That his hero Bode really became the chief of the Illuminees in his part of Germany.† No Brother before him had ever made this avowal; but it

* See Endemonia, Vol. VI. No. 2.

† The Sieur Boetiger, Director of the Gymnaſium at Weimar, and the auxiliary adept ſo famous for his Eulogy on Bode, which was only laughed at in Germany, has many other claims to ridicule beſide thoſe recorded in his writings. The Engliſh may overlook the numerous demands of this kind that he has upon us in about half a dozen Magazines and Reviews in which he co-operates, for his diſſertations on the *Roman Ladies*, on their *toilets*, and on their *fans*; on *America*, and on *China*; on the *Etruſcan Vaſes*, on the *Acting of a Player*, and, in ſhort, on many other ſubjects. But what it moſt concerns the Engliſh people to know is, that the man, whoſe authority is ſet up in favor of the Brotherhood, is as well known in Germany for his talents as a leader of faction, as he is for his treatiſes on toilets and fans. Nor did he on the news of the immortal victory of Admiral Duncan reſtrain his Jacobin rage in his journals, or bluſh at ſaying *that it was doubtful whether* the Engliſh had gained this victory by the interference of heaven or of hell, *whether it came from above or below* (von oben oder von unten); and that it was the opinion of many, that it would have been a greater happineſs for *the Engliſh to have loſt the battle than to have gained it*. Such, nevertheleſs, is the man whom we find placed in competition with, and even ſet up as an authority againſt the patriotiſm of Mr. Robiſon.

This very ſame man moreover writes to inform the Engliſh that he is no Illuminee. He may gain credit in England; but in Germany he is aſked what buſineſs he had with the *Minerval Lodges of Weimar?*—In what quality could he pretend to inherit the papers of a chief of Illuminiſm, which, according to the laws of the Sect, could only be entruſted to brethren? Or for what reaſon, after having been ſo intimately connected with Bode, does he ſtill continue to be the laborious co-operator of the adept Wieland in the *New German Mercury?*

This auxiliary adept alſo writes to the Engliſh, that the Duke of Saxe Gotha, *on application* to him for that purpoſe, *would, doubtleſs, permit the inſpection of theſe papers of* Bode's. But no ſuch invitation is made to the Germans; to them he talks of *a*

perfectly coincides with the information that I had received concerning this infamous Illuminee. It is under the direction of this adept, therefore, whose talents for conspiracy were so much admired by *Philo*-Knigge, that we are now to trace the labors and progress of the Sect.

Fable of the Jesuits Masonry, and its object.

To avert the public attention by means of fabulous plots, and to conceal their own that they might prosecute their conquests in the masonic Lodges; to ensnare that class called men of letters, and at length taint the whole mass of the people with their principles; were the objects of *Amelius*-Bode, and of the new Areopagites who presided over Illuminism after Weishaupt's flight and the dispersion of the Bavarian adepts. Among the various means devised, *one* might appear singularly ridiculous but for the astonishing advantages drawn from it by the Sect: I mean the fable of *the Jesuits Masonry*. A prodigious number of volumes have been written in Germany, both by those who invented the fable, and by others who tho't it incumbent on them to warn the public of this new artifice of Illuminism. I will not wander into useless detail, but will simply lay before my reader the leading points by which he may trace the Sect until it attains the period of its power in our revolutions.

As an act of homage to the despot Weishaupt, *Philo*-Knigge was the first who, in the year 1781, and under

Prince being in possession of all Bode's papers, but does not venture to name the prince. He knew too well that persons on the spot might attempt to gain that admittance to inspect the papers, if Boetiger's word could be a sufficient incitement to those, who think they have acquired a certainty that the prince possessor has powerful reasons for *not showing* the *two trunks* full of papers that he bought at such an immense rate, and for *not giving* an invitation to the public similar to that which the court of Bavaria ordered to be inserted at the head of the Original Writings.

I, in my turn, invite the Author of the *Monthly Magazine* to insert these reflections in his publication, as he did Boetiger's letter in opposition to Mr. Robison in that of January, 1798. My reason for making this invitation is, because I have been informed that some persons have been duped by that letter, and really thought that the existence of this Sect, and of its plots, the most monstrous and most subtle that ever existed, was chimerical.

I can also inform my readers, that all the Secret Writings of Bode are not at Gotha. Many of his letters are at this moment printing: and my correspondents inform me, that they perfectly accord with the statements in my Memoirs.

the name of ALOYSIUS MAYER, publiſhed this idea of the Jeſuits Maſonry. He took it up again in the *circular letter* written by order of *Spartacus* to the Maſonic Lodges; he again inſiſts on it in his *Additions to the Hiſtory of Free-Maſonry*.* The adepts OSTERTAG at Ratiſbon, NICOLAI and BIESTER at Berlin, and a ſwarm of other Illuminees, ſought to give ſanction to this Fable by their writings. As yet, however, it was difficult to form a preciſe idea of this ſtory of the Jeſuits Maſonry, or whether it was true or falſe. Bode at length made a collection of every thing that could be ſaid on the ſubject, and ſent the whole of theſe materials to the Brother BONNEVILLE at Paris.† He ſoon publiſhed his work, entitled *The Jeſuits expelled from Free-maſonry*; and this production, ſent to all the *regular* Lodges, was ſuppoſed to be the death-blow to this terrible phantom.

On inveſtigating theſe different productions, we obſerve, that their drift was to make the Free-maſons believe that all their Lodges were ſecretly under the direction of the Jeſuits; that the whole of their myſteries, their ſecrets and their laws, were but an invention of the Jeſuits; that each Maſon, without ſuſpecting it, was but the ſlave and inſtrument of that ſociety which had long ſince been looked upon as extinct, but whoſe members, though diſperſed, ſtill preſerved an aſcendancy diſgraceful to Maſonry, and dangerous to nations and their rulers. The reſult of all this tended to perſuade the brethren, that true Maſonry was not to be ſought for either among the Roſicrucians or the Scotch Knights, and ſtill leſs among the Engliſh Maſons, or thoſe of the Strict Obſervance; but ſolely among the *Eclectic Lodges* that were under the direction of the Illuminees.‡

The name of Jeſuit is certainly a formidable bug-bear to many people, eſpecially to thoſe who could never pardon their zeal for the Roman Catholic faith; and it cannot be denied, that if conſtancy in the cauſe of that religion was hateful, they were well entitled to the hatred of the enemies of the Catholic faith. It is obſervable, that it was in thoſe very parts of Germany where the

* See theſe works and the Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 22, from Weiſhaupt, and Let. 1. from *Philo*.—Alſo the Circular Letter, Part II. Sect. VI.

† Endliche Schickſal, Page 38.

‡ See *Philo*'s Circular Letter and his concluſion.

Its ſucceſs.

Lodges were chiefly compoſed of Proteſtant brethren, that this fable made the moſt aſtoniſhing impreſſion, nothing being talked of but Jeſuits under the cloak of Maſonry, and their great conſpiracy. One might have tho't that the conſpiracy of the Illuminees was entirely forgotten; but that was not their only object. The Maſonic Brethren of the ordinary Lodges heard ſo much of their being the dupes of the Jeſuits, that they abandoned the Strict Obſervance and the Roſicrucians, and flocked to the Eclectic Maſons, then under the direction of the Illuminees. The Maſonic Revolution was ſo complete and ſo fatal to ancient Maſonry, that its zealous Maſters and Venerables declared this fiction of Jeſuits Maſonry to be a conſpiracy truly worthy of a Danton or a Robeſpierre.* In vain did the more clear-ſighted Maſons point out the ſnare, to vindicate their reputation and put a ſtop to the general deſertion. Their demonſtrations came too late; beſide, they were written by Proteſtants, who were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the Jeſuits or knew but little about them.† But, unfortunately, when Germany really diſcovered the drift of the fable, the greater part of the Maſons had united with the Illuminees for fear of falling a prey to the Jeſuits, and many others had entirely abandoned the Lodges, chuſing to be neither Illuminees nor Jeſuits. Thus was that threat of Weiſhaupt accompliſhed, that he would either conquer the Strict Obſervance and the Roſicrucians, or deſtroy them.

Were it not that prejudice often deprives men of the uſe of their reaſon, one ſhould be aſtoniſhed to ſee the Maſons fall into ſuch a paltry ſnare. Suppoſing that I were to go to the Mother Lodge of Edinburgh, the Grand Lodge of York or that of London, and ſay to their Directories and Grand Maſters, you thought that you preſided over the Maſonic World; you looked upon yourſelves as the guardians of the grand ſecrets of Maſonry, and as the granters of the diplomas; but all this time you were miſtaken, and little ſuſpected that you were, and ſtill continue to be nothing more than puppets put in motion by the Jeſuits.

* Wahrlich ein project eines Dantons oder Robeſpierre Wurdig (*Endliche Schickſal, Page* 32.)

† See on this ſubject the *Endliche Schickſal*, the works entitled, *Der Aufgezogene Vorhang der Frey Maurery, &c.*—And particularly the laſt hundred pages of the work *Uber die Alten und Neuen Myſterien*, Chap. XVI. &c.

Could one, I aſk, invent any thing more degrading either to the human mind, or to that common ſenſe which muſt, I ſuppoſe, be granted to the heroes of Maſonry! Such, however, was the whole fable of the Jeſuits Maſonry.—When ſpeaking of the *Engliſh Maſons*, the authors and abettors of this fable ſay, "*It is true, there are ſome* (of "thoſe Engliſh Maſons) *who ſuſpect that they are led by* "*the noſe, but theſe are few.* . . . It is more common a- "mong them than *any where elſe*, for certain members to "renew from time to time the idea of unknown Superiors;" and thoſe unknown Superiors who lead the Engliſh *by the noſe* are always the Jeſuits.*

Ere long the reproach becomes general; all that multitude of degrees invented in France, in Sweden, and in Germany, becomes an invention of the Jeſuits, as well as the Engliſh and Scotch degrees;† and a ſort of epidemical ſtupidity alone hinders the Brotherhood from feeling their bondage; at leaſt ſuch muſt be the natural conſequence of this fable. How could the German Maſons poſſibly avoid perceiving the abſurdity of it? Their profound adepts and the Elect of all nations flocked to Willemſbaden, and in the ſpace of thirty years they held five or ſix general aſſemblies; how came it to paſs that all theſe brethren combining their ſecrets, their government, and their laws, reviſing, meditating, and correcting, not only their myſteries but their whole code, were purblind enough not to ſurmiſe at leaſt that of which they were afterwards ſo fully perſuaded when they returned to their Lodges, viz. "that they were but the vile inſtruments and ſlaves of the Jeſuits?" There can be no medium; either the Maſons muſt be the offſpring of the groſſeſt ſtupidity and folly (and then what becomes of their great lights and their ſcience of ſciences ſo much extolled), or, the invention of the Jeſuits' Maſonry muſt be a moſt abſurd fable (and in that caſe why do they flock to the Lodges of the Illuminees for fear of meeting a bugbear in their own)?

This fable too appears ſtill more abſurd when we reflect that ſuch men as Philippe D'Orleans, Condorcet, Syeyes, or Mirabeau, with ſo many other Deiſts, Atheiſts,

* See the *Jeſuits expelled Maſonry*, Part I. P. 31 and 34.

† *Philo*'s Circular Letter.

and moſt inveterate enemies and aſſaſſins of the Jeſuits, and of all thoſe who preached the ſame doctrines, *were at the head of Maſonry!*

It may alſo be worthy of remark, at what period theſe Religious are transformed into the Grand Maſters and Directors of that multitude of Lodges ſpread from Eaſt to Weſt? It is after they have been aboliſhed; it is when, forbidden to form a community, they are diſperſed thro'-out the different dioceſes acting the part of private miſſionaries under the inſpection of their Biſhops: this is the period choſen for inſtalling them governors and directors of a vaſt confraternity of Maſons? It is when ſtripped of every thing, driven from their habitations, having ſcarcely wherewith to procure the neceſſaries of life, that they are ſuppoſed to command all the funds of the Maſonic Lodges! It is when, under the yoke of perſecution, they continue to preach the doctrines of the Goſpel, that they are accuſed of a ſuppoſed ſecret impiety and of a profound policy! If they are impious, at leaſt we muſt allow them to be as aukward in their impiety and as imbecile as thoſe who could ſuppoſe them to have poſſeſſed ſome ingenuity; for in the midſt of their ſuppoſed impiety, of their Deiſtical and Atheiſtical, their rebellious and anarchical principles, they have been aukward enough always to have for their greateſt enemies not only the Deiſts and Atheiſts of Maſonry but thoſe of every other claſs! On the other hand, they are ſuppoſed to be the authors of the new myſteries of Maſonry, and they are artful enough to introduce them by means of proteſtant leaders, ſuch as a Baron HUND or a ZINNENDORFF; beſide, theſe myſteries are only multiplied in the divers Lodges in order to create inteſtine jealouſies, hatreds, &c. which all the general meetings of the Sect could not repreſs! This alſo muſt be the work of a body profoundly politic! Did theſe terrible Jeſuits then think to add to their power by thus deſtroying the Maſonic puppets which they had ſo long governed, in place of uniting thoſe millions of brethren or ſlaves under one law, who might have formed an impenetrable phalanx againſt their enemies?

Certainly we muſt be aſtoniſhed at the abſurdity of this fable of the Jeſuits' Maſonry; but our aſtoniſhment increaſes on examining the proofs whereon it is grounded.*

* Some readers may perhaps tax me with treating this fable, and the proofs adduced by the Illuminees, as abſurd and incon-

Let us suppose that Nicolai, Knigge, Bode and the other writers of the Brotherhood, had made a compila-

ceivable, only that I might be dispensed from trouble of refuting demonstrations perhaps difficult to be answered. Should any such be found among my readers, let them turn to those writings which some of the most famous adepts, such for example as *Mirabeau*, or rather his initiator and recruiter *Mauvillon*, extol in the highest terms; and which are not (he says) to be looked upon as *a mere system*, but as *a complete digest and exact statement of the principal facts that led in Germany to the discovery of this Masonry of the Jesuits. (See Mirabeau's Prussian Monarchy, Vol. V. Book VIII. Page 77.)* This famous book is entitled, *The Jesuits expelled from Masonry, and their poignard broken by the Masons.* In the very first page we see engraven on a plate this poignard with the compass, the square, the triangles, the eagles, stars, and every thing that he supposes to be the emblems of Scotch Masonry. Should it be asked where this poignard was found, no answer is given; but in the following very *ingenious* manner the writer pretends to demonstrate that the great authors and directors of Scotch Masonry were Jesuits:

1st. Bonneville declares this Masonry to consist of four degrees, the Apprentice, the Fellow-Craft, the Master, and the Scotch Master. The pass-words in these degrees are *Boaz* and *Tubal-cain* for the first; *Shiboleth*, *Chiblin*, *Notuma*, for the others. Boaz seems to have puzzled him; he therefore rejects it, and only takes the four initials, T. S. C. N.

The Jesuits also had four degrees, the Lay Brothers, (that is to say) those who, as in all religious Orders, were only admitted as servants, such as the cooks, gardeners, &c. These the Jesuits called *Temporal Coadjutors*. Bonneville overlooks Coadjutor, but takes the initial of *Temporal;* and he thus gets *T*, which demonstrates that the Lay Brother Jesuit is the same as the Apprentice Mason, also denoted by *T*. The second degree among the Jesuits is that of the young students, and these were called *Scolastici*, or Scholars; but when they had finished their studies, and taught in their turn, they became *Magistri*, or Masters: The *S* in *Scolastici* is convenient for Bonneville's demonstration, and it becomes the S of the Shiboleth of the Fellow-Craft. The third degree of the Jesuits is that of *Spiritual Coadjutor*, who took the three common religious vows; here the *C* initial of *Coadjutor* is the C of Chiblim, and Bonneville has not the slightest doubt but the spiritual Coadjutor of the Jesuits is the *Master* in Free-masonry. At length comes the fourth degree, or the professed Jesuits, that is, those who to the three first vows have added that of going to preach the Gospel in whatever part of the world the Pope chose to send them.—These were called the *professed* Jesuits; but the word *professed* would not serve Bonneville's purpose, he wanted an *N;* he says, therefore, that these *professed* were called *Nostri*, he then gets an N, the evident Notuma of the Scotch Master in Masonry. Thus it is that by comparing the T. S. C. N. of Masonry

tion of every thing that was odious in Masonry, and had substituted the word *Jesuit* for that of *Free-mason* or *Rosicrucian*, we shall then have a pretty accurate idea of the general course followed by the illuminizing Masons. It would be exactly as if any historian were to take it into his head, when treating of Weishaupt's Code, to substitute the word Jesuit in lieu of Illuminee, and that without being able to name a single Jesuit against whom the accusation could be preferred, notwithstanding the ardent desire of these barefaced calumniators to mention some one at least of the culprit Jesuits. It is a long series of contradictions. Neither do they agree as to the time, the degrees, or the mysteries of this Masonry of the Jesuits.—The sole fact that might deserve to be investigated, had

with the *T. S. C. N.* that he had discovered among the Jesuits, he proves that the degrees of Scotch Masonry are the same as those of the Jesuits. *(See the Jesuits expelled Masonry, Vol. II. Page 5 and 6.)*

Should the reader desire to know how the word *Mason* precisely answers to the *perfect degree* of the Jesuits, or to their *Professed*, Bonneville will tell him, that the letters A. B. C. &c. stand for numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. Suppose the Jesuits have adopted this easy cypher, and then the four letters M. A. S. O. will give 12+1+18+14=45, and then remains N, the very initial letter of the Noster *the perfect degree of the Jesuits. to which they could only be admitted at the age of forty-five! (Ibid. Page 9.)* What a pity (exclaims Bonneville) that this *Noster* should be the *professed Jesuit, professus quatuor votorum (Ibid. Page 6)*; and a still greater pity (say I) for his position, that, according to the constitutions of the Jesuits, at the age of twenty-five they might be admitted to take the fourth vow, provided they had finished their course of divinity. *(Constit. Societ. Jes. Part I. Chap. II. No. 12, de Admittendis.)* Another misfortune was, that even those Jesuits who had taught in their colleges had generally terminated their course of divinity and taken their last vow by the age of *thirty-three*.

Were I to go on to show, that the G, or the *God*, of the Masons becomes the General of the Jesuits, because General begins with a G.—that the *Jubal*, or the musician of the Masons, is a Jesuit, because *Jubal* and *Jesuit* both begin with a J.—that the *Hiram-Abif* also of the mysteries is a Jesuit, because H=8 and A=1 and the total 9=J.; in short, were I to proceed to enumerate five or six hundred follies of the same nature, all given as proofs of the Jesuits' Masonry, my reader would be almost tempted to believe that I was traducing Bonneville. I must, therefore, refer him to the author himself; and let that man read and study him who is not disgusted at the reading of the first pages, and at the impudence with which this author wishes to impose upon the public.

any proof been adduced in confirmation of it, was that of the Jeſuits converting Maſonry into a conſpiracy for the reinſtatement of the Stuarts on the Engliſh Throne. But of what conſequence could their reinſtatement on the throne, or a ſecret of that nature, be to the Swediſh, Ruſſian, Poloneſe, or Dutch Maſons; and how could one pretend to perſuade the Engliſh and Scotch Maſons that their Maſonry, Code, and Emblems, long anterior to the cataſtrophe of the Stuarts, were only myſteries invented to reinſtate the Stuarts on the throne? Should an hiſtorian ever undertake to write the hiſtory of the extraordinary reveries of the human mind, let him not forget thoſe ſet forth by the Illuminees on this occaſion; and were it not for the eminent uſe it was of to them for the propagation of their plots, I ſhould never have thought of troubling my reader with it, or of ſeriouſly refuting ſo incoherent a fable. We muſt next turn our attention to a coalition more real and far more diſaſtrous, I mean that known under the name of the Germanic Union.

CHAP. X.

The Germanic Union—Its principal Actors, and the Conquests it prepared for the Illuminees.

AFTER having described so many plots, unmasked so much artifice, and disclosed such various means of delusion and seduction, all issuing from the dens of impiety, why am I forbidden to lay down my pen, and abandoning these dark haunts of vice, to assume the pleasing task of describing the habits of the virtuous man, or of a nation happy, and enjoying the sweets of peace beneath the shadow of its laws, and that under a beloved monarch, revered still more as the father than as the sovereign of his peaceful empire? Alas! the sight of such a nation has vanished from the face of the earth; thrones totter and disappear; states weep over the ruins of their religion and of their laws, or are yet painfully struggling with the devouring monster. Danger stalks on every spot; and if happier days are mentioned, it can only stimulate us to denounce the too long concealed causes of our misfortunes, in hopes of seeing once again those nearly forgotten days return. Though the mind revolts at the idea, yet for the public good we will pursue that tribe of Weishaupt; and so far from giving repose to our thoughts, we shall be once more hurried into new plots and machinations invented by the most profound adepts of Illuminism, and horridly famous in Germany under the name of the *German Union*. To understand perfectly the object of this Union, the historian must revert to conspiracies anterior to those of Weishaupt.

The Germanic Union; its origin.

We have often seen Voltaire boasting of the progress that Infidelity was making in the north of the German Empire. This progress was not solely to be attributed to his labors, nor had he the least suspicion of the many co-operators that were seconding his views.

In the very heart of Protestantism and of its schools, a Conspiracy had been formed against the Protestant and every branch of revealed religion, inveterate in its means

and agents as that formed by Holbach's club. The Parisian Sophisters openly attacked Jesus Christ and all Christianity. The clubs, or rather schools, of the North of Germany, under pretence *of purifying the Protestant Religion*, and of restoring it to the principles of true Christianity, stripped it of all the mysteries of the Gospel, reduced it to that species of Deism which they decorate with the name of *Natural Religion*, and thus hoped to lead their adepts to a negation of all Religion. These new lawgivers did not absolutely proscribe revelation; but revelation was to be subjected to the judgment of their reason.

The Antichristian Conspiracy had originated in France with those men who styled themselves Philosophers, and who professed to be strangers to all theological erudition. In Germany it took rise in the heart of the Universities, and among their Doctors of Divinity. In France the Sophisters conspiring against all Religion cried up the toleration of the Protestants, in hopes of destroying the Catholic faith; in Germany the Protestant Doctors abused that toleration in order to substitute Philosophism to the tenets of their church.

The first of these German Doctors who, under the mask of Theological disquisitions, engaged in this Antichristian Conspiracy, was SEMLER, professor of Divinity in the University of Halle, in Upper Saxony. The only use he appears to have made of his knowledge would lead us to suppose that he imbibed his principles from Bayle, rather than from the true sources of Theology. Like Bayle, we may observe him here and there scattering a few useful truths, but equally inclining toward paradox and scepticism. Rapid as Voltaire, but destitute of his elegance, he can only be compared to that Antichristian Chief for the multitude of contradictions into which he stumbles at every step. " *It is not uncommon to see him begin* " *a sentence with an opinion that he contradicts before he* " *concludes it.* His predominant system, and the only one " that can be gathered from his numerous reveries, is, " that the symbols of Christianity and of all other Sects " are objects of no consequence; that the Christian Re- " ligion contains but few truths of any importance; and " that every person may select these truths and decide up- " on them as he pleases. His scepticism has never per- " mitted him to fix upon any religious opinion for him- Semler.

" ſelf, unleſs it be when he clearly profeſſes, that Proteſt-
" antiſm is not founded on better grounds than any of
" the other Sects; *that it ſtill ſtands in need of a very*
" *great reform*; and that this reform ſhould be effected
" by his Brethren the Doctors of the Univerſities."*

This new reformer began to propagate his doctrines as early as the year 1754, and continued to circulate them, in German and in Latin, in a thouſand different ſhapes. At one time in an *Hiſtorical and Critical Collection*; at another, in *Free Diſquiſitions on the Canons or Eccleſiaſtical Laws*; then in an *Inſtitution of the Chriſtian Doctrine*; and, above all, in an *Eſſay on the Art and School of a Free Theology*. Soon after a new Doctor appears, attempting to make this deſired reform, or to ſuppreſs the remaining myſteries that Luther and Calvin had not thought proper to reject. This was WILLIAM
Teller. ABRAHAM TELLER, at firſt Profeſſor at Helmſtadt in the Dutchy of Brunſwick, afterwards Chief of the Conſiſtory and Provoſt of a Church at Berlin. He made his firſt eſſay for deſtroying the myſteries by publiſhing a *Catechiſm*, in which, ſcoffing at the divinity of Chriſt, he reduces his religion to Socinianiſm. Soon after this, his pretended *Dictionary of the Bible* was to teach the Germans " methods to be followed in explaining the Scrip-
" tures; by which they were to ſee no other doctrine in
" the whole of Chriſtianity than true Naturaliſm, under
" the cloak and ſymbols of Judaiſm."†

About the ſame time appeared two other Proteſtant Doctors, who carried their new-fangled Theology *ſtill nearer to the ſtate* of a degraded and Antichriſtian Philo-
Damm & Bahrdt. ſophiſm. Theſe were the Doctors DAMM and BAHRDT; the former the Rector of a College at Berlin, the latter a Doctor of Divinity at Halle, but a man of ſuch infamous morals, that even *Philo*-Knigge was aſhamed to ſee his name among Weiſhaupt's elect, and did not even dare to
Loffler. pronounce it.‡ LOFFLER, the ſuperintendant of the Church of Gotha, ran the ſame career of impiety, as well as many others whoſe writings might have been taken for the compoſitions of the Illuminizing Epopts. The faſhion of inveſtigating religion merely to overturn its myſteries

* See *Nouſs of a Secret Coalition againſt Religion and Monarchy*. The Appendix, No. 9.

† Ibid. Appendix, No. 10. ‡ Endliche erklarung, P. 132.

became so common in the German provinces, that the Protestant Religion seemed to be doomed to fall by the hands of its own Doctors, when at length a few of those Ministers who were still fired with zeal for their tenets raised their voices to denounce this conspiracy.

The Doctor DESMAREES, superintendant of the Church of Dessau, in the principality of Anhalt, and the Doctor STARK, famous for his erudition and his conflicts with Illuminism, first called the attention of the public to this rising Sect; the former in his *Letters on the New Pastors of the Protestant Church*, and the latter in his Appendix to the pretended *Crypto-Catholicism and Jesuitism*. Nothing can better probe the wound which the Protestant Church had just received, than the summary view taken of the doctrine of these new pastors, by the superintendant of Dessau in the following terms:

"Our Protestant Divines successively attack all the "fundamental articles of Christianity. They do not let "one single article of the general symbol of faith subsist. "From the Creation of Heaven and Earth to the Resur- "rection of the Body, they combat every single article."*

While these theological adepts were perverting their science to inundate Germany with their crafty Philosophism, a second confederation was forming at Berlin for the propagation of these works, extolling them as the only productions worthy of the public attention. At the head of this league was one NICOLAI, a Bookseller. Before this man's time we have often seen Booksellers who, actuated by avarice, indiscriminately sold books of the most impious and seditious, and others of the most pious tendency; but a phenomenon that had never been seen before, was a Bookseller whose impiety overcame his love of gain, and who would rather sacrifice the profits to be acquired by the sale of religious works, than allow them to be dispersed among the people. Nicolai was a Bookseller of such a stamp as D'Alembert wished to find, and such as he would have been himself had it been his pro- Nicolai.

* Protestantische Gottesgelehrten greifen einen grund artikel des Christenthums nach dem andern an; lassen in ganzen Allgemeinen Glaubens-bekentnifs vom Schöpfer himmels und der erde, bis zur auferstehung des fleisches nicht unan gefochten.—*(Uber die neuen wächter der Protestantischen Kirche; erstes heft, S. 10.)*

feſſion. It was excluſively to the propagation of Impiety that he had dedicated his commerce and his literary talents, for he would alſo be a ſophiſticated writer. He was not even initiated into the myſteries of Weiſhaupt, when he had actually formed the plan for overturning the Chriſtian Religion in Germany by one of thoſe means which governments have never yet ſufficiently attended to, or been aware of. At the head of his buſineſs as a Bookſeller, he alſo undertook to be the compiler of a ſort of weekly Encyclopædia, which he entitled *The Univerſal German Library.** At once the compiler and ſaleſman of Impiety, he engaged ſeveral Sophiſters to co-operate with him. He alſo leagued with many men of great learning and merit, whoſe articles being inſerted in his Journal were to ſerve as a cloak for the more impious ones, whence the readers were to imbibe his baneful principles. The moſt dangerous articles of this ſort were thoſe written by himſelf, by the famous Jew MENDELSOHN, by BIESTER, Librarian to the King, and by GEDIKE, Counſellor to the Conſiſtory of Berlin. It was not long, however, before the tendency of this Journal was diſcovered. It was obſerved, that all their praiſes were laviſhed on thoſe very men whoſe doctrines were levelled at the total overthrow of thoſe myſteries of Chriſtianity which had been preſerved by Luther and Calvin. The man who ſo well ſeconded the views of Weiſhaupt without knowing it could not long eſcape the notice of the Scrutators. The Sect had one in particular whoſe name will hereafter become famous; this was the Brother *Leveller*-Leuchſenring, who had been Preceptor to the Princes at Berlin, and afterward to thoſe of Heſſe Darmſtadt. A fanatical recruiter, and though loquacious, very reſerved on the myſteries, this Leuchſenring was then travelling as an Inſinuator. Hanover and Neuwied already

* I have quoted his *Eſſay on the Templars;* and I thought myſelf bound to do ſo, becauſe I found that his reſearches perfectly coincided with thoſe which I had made on the accuſations preferred againſt thoſe Knights, and on the proofs that appeared on the face of the moſt authentic documents relating to their judgment. I was not, however, on that account leſs concerned to ſee the Impiety with which theſe reſearches are replete. I alſo obſerved all that ridiculous diſplay of erudition on the *Baffomet* of the Templars; but I cannot deny that his quotations are perfectly exact.

bore teſtimony of his zeal. He had attempted in vain to inſinuate the Chevalier Zimmerman; but Nicolai afforded an eaſy conqueſt. It was ſoon complete; Gedike and Bieſter, following his example, only combined their conſpiracy with Weiſhaupt's myſteries. The Doctor BAHRDT had fallen as eaſy a prey to the Aſſeſſor *Minos*; but the Doctor viewed what had been done by his new Brethren, to ſecond his views and writings againſt Chriſtianity, as of little avail—He thought he could ſurpaſs all the artifices of Weiſhaupt, Knigge, and Nicolai; and his evil genius afforded him the means.

The plan that he had conceived was nothing leſs than to reduce all Germany, and by proceſs of time the whole world, to the impoſſibility of receiving any other leſſons, or of reading any other productions than thoſe of the Illuminees. The means of reducing the literary world to this new ſpecies of ſlavery are all contained in the laws laid down by this ſtrange adept for a coalition famous in Germany under the title of the Germanic Union, *Die Deutſche Union.** Its plan.

* The *Sieur Boettiger* writes from Germany, and his letter is inſerted in the *Monthly Magazine for January*, 1798, that this plan, and the whole confederation of Dr. Bahrdt, are only known to Mr. Robiſon through the medium of the *obſcure and deſpicable Journal of Geiſſen*. This journal of Geiſſen was never *deſpicable* in any one's eyes but thoſe of the Illuminees, or of their votaries. They had their reaſons for crying it down; and thoſe very reaſons muſt enhance its value in the eyes of every honeſt man. In the next place, how can this Boettiger preſume to aſſert that this Journal was the only ſource whence Mr. Robiſon had derived his information? The great number of works quoted by Mr. Robiſon muſt evidently belie ſuch an aſſertion, and I willingly declare that it was difficult to procure more. Had he been in poſſeſſion of no other than that famous work known in Germany under the title of *Mehr Noten als Text, order, die Deutſche Union der Zwei und Zwanziger*,—(More Notes than Text; or, the German Union of the Twenty-Two,) that work which, according to Boettiger, alone ſufficed to open the eyes of the public, is that only known by the Journal of Gieſſen? With a ſimilar aſſurance does this champion of Illuminiſm aſſert this work to have been written by Bode, as if there could be the leaſt probability that Bode, who had taken ſo active a part in this conſpiracy, would be very forward in laying it open to the public, and expoſing the *Baroneſs de Rocke, Counteſs of Medem*, the daughter of *Wanderer* (the *Stroller*), to public ridicule, a woman whoſe charms he ſo much admired, and with whoſe writings he was ſo well acquainted. If Bode

This confederacy was to be governed by twenty-two adepts chosen from among that species of men, who by their functions, their knowledge, or their labors, had acquired a greater facility in directing the public opinion toward all the errors of the Sect. The other brethren, dispersed through the different towns, were to contribute by different means toward the grand object under the direction of the *twenty-two*, each of whom had his department assigned to him, as in Weishaupt's Areopage.

The persons who were chiefly to be sought after were authors, post-masters, and booksellers. Princes and their ministers were absolutely excepted against; and people in favor at court, or in the different public offices, were not to be chosen.

These confederates were divided into *simple associates* and *active Brethren*; and the latter alone were initiated into the secret, means, and object, of the coalition. The instructions imparted to the brethren were drawn up in the same style and method that had long since been adopted by Bahrdt, and other apostates from the protestant universities, to reduce Christianity to their pretended natural religion, by declaring Moses, the Prophets, and even Christ, to have been men distinguished, it is true, by their wisdom, but who had nothing divine either in their doctrines or their works. "To root out superstition, to restore mankind to liberty by enlightening them, to con-

was the writer of this publication, which so well displays the knavery of the German Union, how comes it to pass that Mr. Göschen, a Bookseller of Leipsic, has avowed himself the author of it, and is universally acknowledged as such? My readers must perceive, that by entering into these digressions, I only design to warn the public against the different publications which the Illuminees are daily dispersing to persuade nations that their plots are chimerical, while they are pursuing them with redoubled ardor.

I shall also follow nearly the same documents that Mr. Robison has adopted, as they perfectly coincide with the memorials that I have received from Germany. All that I shall lay before my readers in this chapter may be said to be extracts from the following German writings: *News of a great and invisible confederation against the Christian religion and monarchy.—The System of the Cosmopolitans discovered.—The Vienna Journal by Hoffman.—Notice given before it is too late*, by the same.—*More Notes than Text, &c.—The Knowledge of the World and of Men, &c.* besides many other private letters and memorials on the Illuminees.

" ſummate the views of the founder even of Chriſtianity " without violent means, ſuch is our object, (would they " ſay to the Brethren). It is for that purpoſe that we have " formed a ſecret ſociety, to which we invite all thoſe who " are actuated by the ſame views, and are properly ſenſi- " ble of their importance."

As a means of accompliſhing theſe objects, and of propagating their pretended light, theſe active brethren were to eſtabliſh in every town certain *literary ſocieties*, or *reading clubs* (leſgeſchaften), which were to become the reſort of all thoſe who had not the means of procuring the daily publications. Theſe were to attract as many aſſociates as poſſible to theſe reading-rooms; watch their opinions, imbue them with the principles of the Order, leave thoſe whoſe zeal and talents gave but little hopes, among the common brethren; but initiate after certain preliminary oaths, thoſe who could be of any real ſervice, and who entered fully into the views and plans of the Order.

The ſociety was to have its gazettes and journals, which were to be under the direction of thoſe adepts whoſe talents were the moſt conſpicuous; and no pains were to be ſpared to deſtroy all other periodical prints.

The libraries of theſe literary ſocieties were to be compoſed of books all according with the views of the Order. The choice of theſe books and the care of furniſhing them were to be left to the ſecretaries, and particularly to bookſellers who were initiated in the myſteries of the coalition.

The hopes conceived by the man who had planned this aſſociation were held out to the elect as an incitement to the founding of new ones. What advantages (would he ſay) ſhall we not gain over ſuperſtition by thus directing the lectures in our muſeums? What will we not do for men who, zealous in our cauſe, and diſperſed in all parts, circulate every where, even in the cottages, the productions of our choice? ſhould we ever be maſters of the public opinion, how eaſy will it be for us to cover with contempt, and bury in oblivion, every fanatical work that may be announced in the other journals, and on the contrary extol thoſe works that are written according to our views. By degrees we ſhall become maſters of the whole trade of bookſelling. Then will it be in vain for fanatics to write in defence of ſuperſtition and deſpots, as they will neither find ſellers, buyers, nor readers.

Leſt bookſellers themſelves ſhould proteſt againſt an

institution of this nature, they were to be drawn into it by advantages proposed to them, and by the fears of being ruined should they not accede to the views of the coalition. They were to be assured, that the brethren would employ every possible means to encourage the sale of works that met with the approbation of the union; but would also impede the circulation of, and discredit by their journals all such as were hostile to their views. Neither had they to fear a diminution in their trade; the association could encourage writers to multiply their productions by ensuring their sale; indeed, funds were to be established to indemnify any bookseller who, in place of selling such works as were inimical to the views of the Union, would leave them concealed in his shop, pretend that he had never heard of such works, or flatly refuse to sell them, thus abusing by every possible means the confidence of authors and of the public.

Such was the plan of the *Germanic Union*, or Dr. Bahrdt's master-piece. Never had the desire of tyrannically governing the public opinion invented a more perfidious plan. One might be led to think it the reverie of some evil genius who had sworn to extirpate from the minds of the people all ideas of any social or religious doctrine. There do, however, exist crimes which in the eyes of the honest man are almost chimerical, but which present little difficulty when undertaken by a villain. He that had conceived the plan was with mischievous propriety placed at the head of the association. The dissoluteness and infamy of his morals had not left him wherewith to subsist in any decent way, when on a sudden he purchased, near Halle, a large mansion which he called after his own name *Bahrdt's-ruhe*. This was soon converted into the head-quarters of the new Union. But it could never have acquired any great consistency had it not been for Nicolai, who had long been laboring according to Bahrdt's views. The immense correspondence that he had by means of his commerce with the other booksellers of Germany; the sort of dominion that he enjoyed over the literary world by means of his *Universal Library*; the court paid to him by different authors whose fortunes depended on the rank he chose to assign them in his *Library*, or in the Berlin Journal, the *Monathschrift*; and more particularly the art with which he contrived to gain over a great number of booksellers, gave him a pow-

er that no ſovereign could ever pretend to. His illuminized co-operators, Bieſter, Gedike, and Leuchſenring, became more ardent, daring and impious, than ever in the journals which they compiled. Bode likewiſe would have one at Weimar under the title of *the Univerſal Literary Gazette.* Another of the ſame nature was ſet on foot at Saltzbourg, by HUBNER, who was alſo an Illuminee.—The offspring of Weiſhaupt were all warned of the ſtreſs which they were to lay on theſe publications, and they ſoon became a moſt terrible ſcourge on all writers who would not ſacrifice their principles to impiety. The fable of the Jeſuits Maſonry was now improved by a new fiction that ſpread diſmay in the mind of every writer who wiſhed to oppoſe the progreſs of Illuminiſm.

Thoſe very Jeſuits who have juſt been ſeen repreſented as the moſt artful infidels, and as ſecretly preſiding over the Maſonic lodges, were now become moſt zealous Catholics, who had ſecretly mingled among the Proteſtants, in order to bring theſe provinces back to the Roman Catholic religion and ſubject them to the dominion of the Pope. Every man who dared defend any one of thoſe myſteries that can only be known either to Catholic or Proteſtant through Revelation, every man who preached ſubmiſſion to ſovereigns and the laws of the ſtate, was immediately proclaimed a *Jeſuit*, or the ſervile ſlave of Jeſuitiſm. One might have thought that all the proteſtant provinces were filled with theſe Jeſuits, ſecretly conſpiring againſt the proteſtant religion; and my readers will eaſily conceive what an impreſſion ſuch a charge muſt have made to the diſadvantage of any writer in thoſe provinces. Neither the office of miniſter nor of ſuperintendant of a church could ſcreen a perſon from ſo terrible an imputation. Even that man was not proof againſt it, who out of zeal for Luther and Calvin, had given full vent to all his hatred and prejudices againſt the Jeſuits; I mean Dr. Stark. In his work on *The Ancient and Modern Myſteries* he had declared, "that ſovereigns had, "by the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, rendered an ever me-"morable ſervice to religion, to virtue, and to humanity." Nevertheleis M. Stark, at that time, as he ſtill continues to be, a preacher and doctor of the Lutheran church, and alſo counſellor of a Conſiſtory at Darmſtadt, was obliged to employ many pages of his apology in proving that he was neither a Roman Catholic nor a Jeſuit, and particu-

larly that he was not *one of the profeſſed Jeſuits, who, having taken the four vows, were obliged at the command of the Pope to go and preach the catholic faith wherever he choſe to ſend them.**

The Chevalier Zimmerman met with a ſimilar fate, merely becauſe he had laid open the plots of the Illuminees, and dared to ridicule the adept *Leveller*-Leuchſenring, who had propoſed to initiate him into the Brotherhood that was ſoon to reform and govern the world.†—That celebrated man, an ornament to the Royal Society of London, is nevertheleſs repreſented by the journaliſts of the Sect as an *ignorant fellow, wallowing in ſuperſtition*, and *an enemy of Light*.‡

The Profeſſor Hoffman, notwithſtanding the high encomiums that had been laviſhed on him by theſe very journals, no ſooner gave proofs of his zeal for religion and ſocial order, than he was repreſented in ſimilar colors. Never had the diſciples of Weiſhaupt ſo well practiſed that law laid down by their teacher, "Diſcredit by all "means poſſible every man of talents that you cannot "bring over to your party." Nicolai gave the ſignal in his *German Library*, or in the *Berlin Monathſchrift*. The Brethren of Jena, of Weimar, of Gotha, of Brunſwick, and of Slewick, immediately obeyed the ſignal, and repeated the ſame calumnies. "Shortly there were no "means of ſcreening oneſelf from a ſwarm of periodical "writers, who had leagued with the modern *Lucian*; "they praiſed what he had praiſed; they condemned what "he had condemned; the ſame turn in their phraſes, even "the ſame terms are to be obſerved when they praiſe or "when they blame an author, and particularly the ſame "ſarcaſms and groſſneſs of abuſe."§ Scarcely could there be found in all Germany above two or three journals that were not in the hands of the united brethren, or perſons of the ſame caſt.

Meantime the adept writers, together with Bahrdt, Schultz, Riem, and even *Philo*-Knigge, who in abandoning the Illuminees had not renounced their plots, with hundreds of other writers of the Sect inundated the pub-

* See his Apology, Page 52 to 59.

† Life of Zimmerman, by Tiſſot. ‡ Ibid.

§ The ultimate fate of Maſonry, Page 30; and News of an viſible Aſſociation, Appendix, No. 11.

lic with their libels in verſe or proſe, under the forms of comedies, romances, ſongs, and diſſertations. All the tenets of religion, Catholic and Proteſtant, were attacked with the moſt bare-faced impudence. Now the ſcene began to change; it was no longer to defend the Proteſtants againſt the attacks of the Catholics; but the obliteration of every religious tenet became their obvious deſign. The moſt pompous eulogiums were pronounced by the journaliſts of the Sect on all thoſe productions of the brethren that openly diſſeminated every principle of Impiety and Sedition.* But what muſt appear a ſtill more aſtoniſhing contradiction, though perfectly coinciding with the views of the Sect, is, that theſe very men who wiſhed ſo deſpotically to ſway the public opinion, and cruſh every writer that had not imbibed their principles, would pretend to perſuade Sovereigns that their ſole object was to obtain that right inherent to them from nature, 'to publiſh their opinions and ſyſtems without danger or conſtraint.' Bahrdt in particular vindicated this pretended right, in his publication *On the Liberty of the Preſs*. It contained the ſentiments of a rank Atheiſt, who wiſhed to imbue his reader with all the moſt abominable principles of Anarchy and Impiety; the author, nevertheleſs, was extolled by the hebdomadary adepts, and, notwithſtanding Bahrdt's vindication of the liberty of the preſs, they united all their efforts to cruſh every writer that dared to aſſert an opinion contrary to theirs.

The uſe which the brotherhood made of this liberty at length rouſed the attention of ſome few ſovereigns.—Frederic William, King of Pruſſia, alarmed at the progreſs which theſe impious and ſeditious writings were making, thought it neceſſary to put a curb on them. He publiſhed ſome new regulations, called the *Edicts for Religion*. This was received by the Illuminees with an audacity which ſeemed to denote that they had acquired a ſtrength ſufficient to bid defiance to ſovereigns, and both the Prince and the Edict became the object of their ſarcaſms and moſt violent declamations. At length appeared a work attributed to Bahrdt, that was the acme of inſolence, and, through deriſion, was alſo called the *Edict for Religion*. The magiſtrates ordered to take cogni- Its diſcovery.

* Ibid.

zance of this inſult ſeized on the perſon and papers of Bahrdt, and all the neceſſary proofs of this coalition and of its object were acquired. It might ſeem that the court of Berlin would have done well to have imitated the example of that of Bavaria by making them public; but the adepts had too powerful agents about the miniſtry; and numerous arguments were invented for condemning to oblivion theſe archives of a new ſpecies of conſpiracy.—All that tranſpired was, that the plan had been really formed, and that a number of authors, bookſellers, and perſons even who could ſcarcely have been ſuſpected, had entered into the aſſociation. It is not known how far Weiſhaupt had contributed perſonally to it; but it appears that he twice attended at the head-quarters of the united brethren; that he ſpent ſeveral days with Bahrdt; and that the moſt zealous and active of the united brethren were alſo diſciples of Weiſhaupt. If we are to believe Bahrdt, his ſecret was betrayed by two aſſociates well worthy of their maſter. Theſe were two young libertines, nearly beggars, but who had the talents and meanneſs neceſſary to become the clerks of his impiety. Notwithſtanding the proofs adduced againſt him, he got off with a ſlight impriſonment, and ſpent the remainder of his exiſtence in diſtreſs, but without atoning for his vices. He was reduced to keep a coffee-houſe at Baſſendorff near Halle, where he ended his days as miſerably as he had lived.—The Illuminees have thought fit to abandon his memory to that contempt which his vicious life had entailed upon him; but though they affected to bluſh at his name, they nevertheleſs continued to proſecute his plans.

Its continuation and its ſucceſſes.

Indeed, at the time of the diſcovery of this monſtrous conſpiracy, it had gained too much ground to be cruſhed by the fall of its firſt contriver; and Pruſſia, and all Germany, ſoon became infected with thoſe literary ſocieties which were nothing more than a modification of Weiſhaupt's *Minerval* ſchools. Nor was there in a ſhort time a town or a large village more free from this ſpecies of literary ſocieties that from the Illuminized Lodges; and they were all under the direction of the followers of the modern *Spartacus*.

Bahrdt's great object was, to place the aſſociates and other readers under a ſort of impoſſibility of procuring any other writings, or of applying to any other ſtudies, than thoſe of the Sect; and the precaution it had taken

to initiate: ſo many bookſellers proved a powerful ſupport. The conſpiracy might have aſſumed a new form; but it ſtill continued active, and its effects became more perceptible after its diſcovery. It was then that the coalition appeared between the bookſellers and the journaliſts of the Sect to ſuppreſs all books that counteracted the progreſs of Sedition and Impiety. It was in vain for virtuous and pious men to attempt to open the eyes of the people; they could ſcarcely find a bookſeller or a printer who would ſell or print their works; or if any had conſented they would endeavor to diſguſt the author by delays, and a hundred other pretexts. Did the author undertake to print it at his own expenſe, the work was then thrown by in ſome obſcure corner of the ſhop and never expoſed to ſale, nor would any bookſeller attempt to ſell it; and the whole work would be ſent back to the author under pretence that nobody would buy it. The very exiſtence of ſuch works was not mentioned at the fairs held in Germany for the ſale of books. At other times the author was ſtrangely betrayed, the printer giving up his manuſcript to the writers of the Sect, and the refutation (if the moſt ſcurrilous abuſe can deſerve that name) was advertiſed on the back of the book as ſoon as the firſt edition made its appearance. Many authors might have brought actions againſt their printers of a ſimilar nature to that which Doctor Stark was obliged to bring, and demonſtrate a ſimilar connivance with the Sect and breach of truſt. "At leaſt it is an undeniable fact, that "many learned writers made fruitleſs applications to "different bookſellers for publications that had been "ſuppreſſed ſolely becauſe they gave umbrage to the "Illuminees. Their letters were never ſo much as an"ſwered; and the very bookſellers who refuſed to ſend "theſe books to thoſe who applied for them, affected to "defer the ſale till the next fairs, as no buyers were to be "found." Many others of theſe works had ſcarcely been delivered to the bookſellers when they were ſent back under the moſt opprobrious pretences; and what may ſurpriſe the reader is, that no perſons were ſo certain of receiving ſuch refuſals as thoſe who moſt openly defended their Princes. In the very ſtates of the King of Pruſſia it was found impoſſible to get this ſovereign's *Apology* and his *Edict for Religion* ſold in the common way.—Scarcely had the author ſent a few copies to the bookſellers when they were all returned to him. But did the

writers of the Sect wish to publish the most scandalous disputations and the most scurrilous abuse against sovereigns and religion, or against men in office or of high respectability, the booksellers were alert in selling them, the journalists extolled their excellence, and sought numerous readers for the author.*

On one hand, the great trade in these productions carried on by the Sect, with the certainty of selling them to the literary clubs; and on the other the great pecuniary contributions made by the rich brethren, formed large funds for the coalition. To these if we add the sums contributed by the brethren whom the Sect had stationed at different courts, in the church and the councils, either out of their own emoluments, or the revenues of the church and state, the reader will easily conceive how well these funds sufficed for indemnifying those booksellers who had suffered losses by restraining their commerce to works approved of by the Areopage. A particular fund was established for this purpose. At the appointed time the bookseller had but to produce the list of the works he had suppressed or refused to sell with the proper proofs, and he received a sum of money sufficient to indemnify him for such losses. The memorials which I have received from Germany, as well as several letters, inform me that this fund still exists in that country; and the French Revolution has only furnished it with many others means of enriching itself.

Among the great advantages reaped by the Sect from this plan which had been so well concerted, we may first observe the impossibility under which authors lay of warning the public against the artifices of Illuminism. In the next place it drew over to their interest that swarm of writers who, more hungry than honest, are regardless of truth or falsehood, provided they obtain a good price. In short, it emboldened that multitude of Sophisters, more numerous still in Germany than they were in France; Poets, Historians, and Dramatists, nearly all of whom courted the united brotherhood by assuming the tone of impiety and anarchy. The most dangerous device practised by the adepts against society was the great care with which

* See Nachrichten von einem grossen aber unsichtbaren Bunde, the Appendix, Nos 8 and 13, and the Journal of Vienna, by Hoffman.

they initiated the different profeſſors of the Proteſtant univerſities, the ſchool-maſters, and the tutors of princes.—It is a painful truth, but we muſt declare it, and on the authority of thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the hiſtory and progreſs of Illuminiſm, that the greater part of the univerſities of the north of Germany were at that time, and ſtill continue to be, the haunts of Illuminiſm, whence its baneful poiſons are circulated throughout the neighboring ſtates by the writings and lectures of ſuch men as the Profeſſors FREDERIC CRAMER, EHLERS, and KOPPE.*

Let not the reader think that the writers of the Catholic ſtates were exempt from the infection. Vienna was overrun with zealots who ſought to diffuſe the principles of the Sect. The Chevalier DE BORN, who ſhould have contented himſelf with the high rank which he held in chymiſtry, degraded himſelf in that town by becoming a leader of the adepts; and when the Sect was diſcovered in Bavaria he was ſo zealous in the cauſe, that he ſent back his letters of Aſſociate of the Academy of Munich, proteſting that he would have no intercourſe with men who had been ſo little able to judge of Weiſhaupt's merits.

Next on the Vienna liſt we find the Sieur SONNENFELD, one of thoſe writers who in this age are called wits, though deſtitute of common ſenſe. He alſo was one of the propagators of Illuminiſm under the maſk of literary ſocieties. I am informed by perſons who attended his clubs, and whom he wiſhed to initiate, that theſe meetings began and were held as common academies hold theirs: but at the time appointed the ſittings broke up, when, only the adepts remaining behind, a ſecret council was held, in which every thing was concerted and planned according to the laws of the united brethren.

A man whoſe name would have given great weight to the united brethren, had he hearkened to the praiſes laviſhed on him by the Illuminees at that time,† is the

* See Hoffman's Admonition, Sect. XVI, XVII, and XVIII.

† It is really laughable to compare the contempt which the Illuminees affect for Mr. Hoffman at preſent, with the high encomiums which they pronounced on him before he undertook to lay open their impoſture, or even with thoſe letters (full of compliment on his wit, ſtyle, and talents) which they wrote to him ſo lately as the year 1790, in hopes of enticing him into their party.

Profeſſor Hoffman, he who ſo nobly joined with Zimmerman to tear the maſk from theſe impoſtors, and has ever ſince, with his worthy co-adjutor, been the object of their moſt virulent declamations. In the account given by Mr. Hoffman himſelf, we find that the Illuminizing recruiters followed him as far as Peſt in Hungary. On the 26th of June, 1788, he received from the *twenty-two chiefs* an invitation to become a fellow of the literary ſociety which they had already eſtabliſhed in that town. "My anſwer (ſays he) was, that I hoped they would give "me ſome further information reſpecting theſe ſocieties, "and then my duty and my prudence would dictate the "anſwer that I ſhould make. . . . On divers occaſions "afterward, they gave me diſtant hints as to the ſpirit of "their ſyſtem. They alſo ſent me ſeveral times a liſt of "the new members; and the ſignature of the twenty-two "authenticated theſe various documents; but it was this "very authentication which made me conceive the horrid "plot that was concealed under this aſſociation."

The reader will eaſily conceive, that for a man of his merit and probity, this was more than ſufficient to make him reject the offers of ſuch a brotherhood. They had already inſcribed his name on their regiſters, and they were obliged to craſe it. As a proof that he had judged rightly of them, he quotes the letter of a virtuous and clear-ſighted ſtateſman, who, after having *officially* examined the whole plan of the German Union and its myſteries, pronounces them to be *abominations that would make one's hair ſtand on end!* Such are his expreſſions!

Theſe abominations, however, were far from making a ſimilar impreſſion on the other apoſtles of the Germanic Union. Meanwhile Weiſhaupt, a tranquil ſpectator of the progreſs of his Illuminiſm, ſeemed to take no part in it. The moſt active adepts lived round about him at Gotha, at Weimar, at Jena, and at Berlin; but one might have thought him quite indifferent as to their ſucceſs. If we except the viſits he received from the brethren, a few journies that he took, and particularly thoſe which he had made to ſee the founder of the Germanic Union, nothing could depoſe againſt him as the founder or chief who continued to direct the plots of the Sect. But let the reader never loſe ſight of his precepts on the art of appearing perfectly idle in the midſt of the greateſt activity; let him reflect on thoſe menaces which he iſſued ſix months after

his flight from Munich: *Let our enemies rejoice. Their joy ſhall ſoon be changed into ſorrow. Don't think that even in my baniſhment I ſhall remain idle.** After this, it is eaſy to judge of his ſuppoſed nullity in the progreſs of his conſpiracy. However ſecret he may have been in the part he was acting, he could obſerve but too well the approaching accompliſhment of the prediction he had made ſo early as the ſecond year of his Illuminiſm, when he wrote to his firſt adepts, "The great obſtacles are over-come; you will now ſee us proceed with gigantic ſtrides." The Sect had not been in exiſtence twelve years when Germany was overrun with an immenſe number of adepts and demi-adepts. It was aſſuming a menacing aſpect in Holland, in Hungary, and in Italy. One of the adepts called ZIMMERMAN, who began by being the chief of a Lodge at Manheim, and who ſoon became as zealous for the propagation of the Sect, as the *Famous* ZIMMERMAN had been to counteract their dark deſigns, would often brag that he had founded more than a hundred of thoſe conſpiring clubs known under the name of literary ſocieties, or of Maſonic Lodges, during his career thro' Italy, Hungary, and Switzerland. To give the fatal impulſe to the world, it now only remained for the Sect to carry its myſteries into a nation powerful and active indeed, but unfortunately more ſuſceptible of that effervescence which bereaves man of the power of thinking, than of that judgment which foreſees diſaſters; to a nation which in its ardor and enthuſiaſm, too eaſily forgets that true greatneſs is not that courage which bids defiance to danger (for the vandals and barbarians can boaſt of ſuch heroes;) to a nation, in ſhort, that has ever been a prey to illuſions, and which, before it would hearken to the councils of wisdom, might in its firſt fury overturn the altar and ſhiver the ſcepter, returning to reaſon only in time to weep over the ruins, and lament the devaſtation of which it had been the cauſe.

This deſcription unfortunately was too applicable to France, which in many reſpects might claim the primacy among nations, but was too eaſily led away by illuſions. The ſcrutinizing Areopage had fixed its eyes on her, and now judged it a convenient time for ſending its emiſſaries to the banks of the Seine. This will be the proper

* Letter to Fiſher, 9th Auguſt, 1785.

commencement of the fourth Epoch of Illuminiſm.—Now let the reader prepare to contemplate ſtates convulſed, citizens buſchered, in a word, to ponder over all the crimes and diſaſters inherent in the very nature of Revolutions.

CHAP. XI.

Fourth Epoch of Illuminiſm.

The Deputation from Weiſhaupt's Illuminees to the Free Maſons of Paris.—State of French Maſonry at that period.—Labors and Succeſſes of the Deputies.—Coalition of the Conſpiring Sophiſters, Maſons, and Illuminees, generating the Jacobins.

Projects on France.

AS early as the year 1782, *Philo* and *Spartacus* had formed the plan of converting the French nation to their Syſtem of Illuminiſm; but the vivacity and capricious temper of the people, ſo difficult to be reſtrained, made it ſeem prudent for the two Chiefs at that time not to extend their attempts beyond Straſbourg. The exploſion in France might be premature; its too volatile and impetuous people might be unwilling to wait till other nations were properly prepared for the grand object; and Weiſhaupt, in particular, was not a man to be ſatisfied with partial or local inſurrections, which might only ſerve to put other Sovereigns on their guard. The Reader has already ſeen him in ſecret, preparing his Adepts, and contriving the concatenation of his correſpondence, in ſuch a manner, that he had but to give the ſignal when the favorable moment ſhould come. On the fatal day of revolution, and at the appointed hour, legions of brethren were to ſpring forth on all ſides from their ſecret receſſes, whether Lodges, Academies, or under what other denomination ſoever, from the North to the South, and from the Eaſt to the Weſt. All Europe in ſhort was to be revolutionized at the ſame inſtant; all nations were to be hurried into a 14th of July; and all kings were, like Lewis the Sixteenth, to awake priſoners in the hands of their own ſubjects. Altars and thrones were ſimultaneouſly to vaniſh from the earth. According to this plan, as has juſt been obſerved, the French were to be the laſt people initiated in the myſteries, as the Chiefs took it for granted, that with their natural impatience they would never

be brought to wait till the explosion could be universally prepared.

hastened by Mirabeau.

Already, however, there existed some adepts in the very heart of the kingdom. Some few had been initiated by Knigge at the time of the meeting at Willemsbaden.—During that very year, we find on the list of brethren, DIETRICH, that Mayor of Strasbourg who has since in Alsace rivalled Robespierre by his cruelties.* Another adept of vast importance to the Sect was the Marquis DE MIRABEAU, who was afterwards to become so famous in the revolutionary annals of his country. What strange infatuation possessed the ministers of the most honest man that ever swayed a sceptre, to entrust this Marquis with the interests of their master at the court of Berlin, well knowing (as they did) the monstrous immorality of his private life, is more than I shall attempt to explain. One might be led to think that it was not deemed sufficient that Lewis XVI. had saved him from the scaffold, but his villany was to be recompensed by a secret mission which seemed to denote the utmost confidence of his sovereign. Mirabeau at Berlin conducted the King's affairs just as he had formerly done those of his father and mother, fully ready to sacrifice all parties and to sell himself to the highest bidder. With such a disposition, he could not long avoid the notice of the Prussian Illuminees; and Nicolai Biester, Gedike, and Leuchsenring soon became his constant companions. At Brunswick he met with MAUVILLON, the worthy disciple of Knigge, and at that time a Professor in the Caroline College. This was the man who initiated the profligate Marquis in the last mysteries of Illuminism.†

Long before his initiation Mirabeau had been acquainted with all the revolutionary powers of the Masonic Lodges; nor did he, when initiated, undervalue those which flowed or might flow from Weishaupt's inventive genius. On his return to France he began to introduce the new mysteries among some of his Masonic brethren.—His first associate was the Abbe TALLEYRAND DE PERIGORD, who had already begun to act the part of Judas

* Welt un menschen Kentnis, P. 130.

† See the Discourse of a Master of a Lodge on the ultimate fate of Masonry; Appendix to this Discourse—Important Admonition by Hoffman, Vol. II. Sect. VII. &c. &c.

in the firſt order of the church. But to have only introduced the myſteries was not ſufficient for the Marquis; he would have teachers come from Germany, who were better verſed than he was in the illuminizing arts. Well acquainted with the reaſons that had induced the chiefs of the Order to defer the converſion of France, he found means to convince them, that the time was now come for the accompliſhment of their views; that the whole nation only waited for their new revolutionary means, to burſt into an open rebellion, for which they had been ſo long prepared by other conſpirators; and that the Illuminees might moſt certainly turn the ſcales. A private correſpondence then took place between him and Mauvillon;* but of this a ſufficiency has not tranſpired to enable the hiſtorian to deſcribe the intrigues that took place on the occaſion; certain it is, however, that Mirabeau's plan was adopted by the Areopage; and by a plurality of votes it was decided, that France ſhould be immediately illuminized. This was an undertaking of too great importance to be entruſted to a common adept.—The man who, ſince the retreat of *Spartacus*, had been looked upon as the Chief of the Order, offered himſelf; and *Amelius*-BODE, the worthy ſucceſſor of both Knigge and Weiſhaupt, was deputed to the French Lodges, in which the illuminization was to commence. Bode received as an aſſociate in this miſſion *Bayard* that other pupil of Knigge's whoſe real name was WILLIAM BARON DE BUSCHE, a Captain in the Dutch ſervice, heir

Deputation of the Illuminees from Germany.

* It is to this ſame Mauvillon that the German writers attribute the greater part of thoſe two works publiſhed by Mirabeau, under the titles of *The Pruſſian Monarchy*, and *An Eſſay on the Illuminees*. Hence the high encomiums paſſed on Weiſhaupt in the former, (Vol. V. Book VII.) and all the cunning artifice that is obſervable in the latter, which was written with no other view than to miſlead the public, by profeſſing to betray the ſecrets of the Sect, without, in truth, ſaying a ſingle word that could expoſe its views; and by leading aſtray the reader's attention to far different objects. This device made the French believe that they were thoroughly acquainted with Illuminiſm, though they were ſo perfectly ignorant on the ſubject as to have confounded Weiſhaupt's Illuminees with the Swedenborgians. The artifice alſo ſerved as a cloak under which Mirabeau introduced Illuminiſm into France, at the time when he pretended to write againſt it. The very appellation of *Philalete* which he gave to his adepts was a trick, as it denoted the Theoſophical Illuminees, quite another ſpecies.

to a large fortune, a man of talents, and well verſed in all that artifice and low cunning which the Inſinuators were wont to ſtyle prudence and wiſdom. This Baron had been formerly employed to propagate the plots of the Sect in thoſe very provinces which had a right to expect from him even the ſacrifice of his life in defence of its laws.* The zeal with which he had fulfilled his firſt miſſion ſeemed to give him an indiſputable title to the honor of attending on the Chief of the Order in his journey to Paris.

State of Maſonry in France at that period.

Circumſtances could not have been more favorable than they were at that time for the deputies, nor more diſaſtrous for France. The Philoſophiſm of the age had operated on the Lodges as fully as could be expected, to prepare the reign of that Equality and Liberty taught by Voltaire and Roſſeau, and which only needed the laſt myſteries of Weiſhaupt to convert them into the moſt abominable impiety and moſt abſolute anarchy. A line had been drawn between the degrees of ancient and of modern Maſonry. The former with the puerile paſtimes, and obſcure ſymbols, were left to the commonalty of the Brethren. The latter, ſtyled *philoſophical*, comprehended thoſe which I have deſcribed under the titles of *Knights of the Sun*, the higher *Roſicrucians*, and the *Knights Kadoſch*. At the head of all theſe ſocieties (whether ancient or modern) were three Lodges at Paris, particularly remarkable for the authority which they exerciſed over the reſt of the Order, and for the influence that they poſſeſſed over the opinions of the Brethren.

The GRAND ORIENT of Paris.

The firſt of theſe, *The Grand Orient*, was rather *a re-union of all the regular Lodges of the kingdom (repreſented by their deputies)* than a Lodge. It might be called a ſort of Maſonic Parliament ſubdivided into four Committees, which, when united, formed the Grand Council or Lodge, where all the affairs of the Order *were definitively determined*. The Committees were ſub-divided into that *of Adminiſtration of Paris, of the Provinces, and of the Degrees*. Of all theſe, the latter was the mainſpring and the moſt impenetrable; for no viſitors were admitted to it, as they were to the three others, to the ordinary meetings of which all Maſters or *Venerables* of Lodges had free acceſs.

* Original Writings, and Philo's Berichte, 6.

Three great Officers of the order were attached to this Maſonic Parliament; to wit, *the Grand Maſter*, *the General Adminiſtrator*, and *the Great Conſervator*. His moſt Serene Highneſs *Brother-Philip* of Orleans, firſt Prince of the blood, was Grand Maſter at the time when the Illuminees arrived in Paris. The two other offices were filled by perſons of the firſt diſtinction; but their characters are ſuch, that they will ever ſtand inconteſtable proofs of what I have already aſſerted, that even in the very higheſt degrees of the Order, there were modified myſteries for thoſe who, by their rank, were to ſerve as a protection for its plots without even ſurmiſing their tendency.*

Such, however, was not the caſe with Philip of Orleans. His rank of Grand Maſter, his impiety, and inſatiable thirſt for vengeance, ſufficiently demonſtrated to the Illuminizing Miſſionaries how well he was qualified and how far prepared to ſecond their deſigns in the multitude of Lodges that recognized him as Grand Maſter. So early as the year 1787 we find that France contained (as may be ſeen in the ſtatement of its correſpondence) two hundred and eighty-two towns, in which were to be found regular Lodges under the direction of the Grand Maſter. In Paris alone there exiſted eighty-one; ſixteen at Lyons, ſeven at Bourdeaux, five at Nantes, ſix at Marſeilles, ten at Montpellier, ten at Toulouſe; in ſhort, in almoſt every town the Lodges were in pretty juſt ratio to the population. Indeed it would ſeem that even this vaſt empire over French Maſonry was not ſufficient for the Grand Orient, as by the ſame ſtatement we find the Grand Maſter iſſuing out his inſtructions to the Lodges of Chambery in Savoy, of Locle in Switzerland, of Bruxelles in Brabant, of Cologne, Liege and Spa in Weſtphalia, of Leopold and Warſaw in Poland, of Moſcow in Ruſſia, of Portſmouth in Virginia, of Fort Royal in Grenada, and in ſhort to Lodges in all the French Colonies. Thus did Philip of Orleans and his *Grand Orient* enſure to the Illuminees as powerful an alliance as that formerly made by Knigge with the German Lodges under the direction of Weiſhaupt.†

* See the Alphabetical Statement of the Correſpondence of the Lodges of the G. O. of France.

† Ibid. Art. Foreign States.

The Lodge of the Amis Reunis.

Subject to the Grand Orient we next find at Paris a Lodge called *Les Amis Réunis* (or United Friends), which was more particularly charged with all Foreign Correspondence. The famous Revolutionist Savalette de Lange, was one of its leading members. This adept held under government the office of *Garde du Trefor Royal*; that is to say, he enjoyed that confidence to which none but the most faithful subject could be entitled; yet at that very time was he engaged in the various plots and mysteries of all the different Sects. In order to form an union of them all, he had introduced into his Lodge the different systems of the Sophisters, of the Martinists and of the other Masons; and, the more to impose on the Public, he also introduced all the luxuries and amusements of the Great. Concerts and balls made Brethren of high rank flock to his Lodge, and they came with the most brilliant equipages. Soldiers stood sentry in the avenues, that the multitude of carriages might not occasion disorder; indeed a stanger might have thought that it was under the auspices of the King himself that these balls were given. The Lodge was resplendent, as the more wealthy Masons contributed to the expenses of the Orchestra, lights, refreshments, and, in short, of all those diversions which appeared to be the sole object of their union. But while the Brethren were dancing with their female adepts, or were chaunting in the common Lodge-room the sweets of Equality and Liberty, they little suspected that a *Secret Committee* held its sittings over their heads, and were employed in preparing the means for diffusing that Equality and Liberty over all ranks and conditions, from the palace to the cot.

It was actually over the common Lodge-room that the Committee held its sittings under the title of *the Secret Committee of United Friends*, whose grand adepts were two men equally famous in the mysteries at Lyons and at Paris.—These were Willermoz and Chappe de la Henriere. During the whole time of the festivity two tylers, with drawn swords, stood, one at the bottom of the stair-case, the other near the upper door, to defend the entrance of the new Sanctuary, where were kept the archives of the Secret Correspondence. Even the man to whom all the packets from the Brethren of Germany or Italy were directed, was not permitted to pass beyond the threshold of the door. He was unacquainted with the cypher of the

Correſpondence; his duty was merely to carry the packets to the door of the Committee;* Savalette de Lange came to receive them, and the ſecret never tranſpired beyond the walls of the Committee. The Reader may eaſily conceive the nature of this Correſpondence, and of the Councils held in conſequence of it, when he is informed, that to gain admittance into this Secret Committee, it was not ſufficient to have been initiated in all the degrees of ancient Maſonry, but it was neceſſary to be *a Maſter of all the Philoſophical Degrees*; that is to ſay, to have ſworn *hatred to Chriſtianity* with the Knights of the Sun, and *hatred to every worſhip, and to all Kings* with the Knights Kadoſch.

The Lodge in the *Rue de la* SOURDIERE.

There exiſted other lurking haunts of rebellion, leſs known, but ſtill more formidable; ſuch as that in the *Rue de la Sourdiere*, where the Brethren of Avignon, pupils of Swedenborg and St. Martin, came to mingle their myſteries with thoſe of the Roſicrucians and other Maſons both ancient and ſophiſticated. In public, under the diſguiſe of quacks and viſionary ghoſt-raiſers, theſe new adepts ſpoke of nothing but their powers of evoking ſpirits, raiſing and interrogating the dead, and a hundred other phenomena of a ſimilar nature. But in the dark receſſes of their Lodges, theſe new law-givers were foſtering plots nearly of the ſame tendency as thoſe of Weiſhaupt, but more atrocious in their conſtruction. I have already expoſed their diſorganizing myſteries in treating of Swedenborg and St. Martin. I ſcarcely dared to credit the horrid trials and abominable oaths ſaid by ſeveral writers to be exacted from the adepts. I could wiſh to have ſpoken of them on the authority only of the adepts them-

* I was informed by one of the Brethren who for a long time was the carrier of theſe diſpatches, that, after ſome time, wiſhing to become a Member of the Committee, he was induced to get himſelf initiated in theſe degrees; but that he forbore doing it, becauſe *an engagement for life was required, and alſo an annual contribution of ſix hundred livres, (25l.)* He alſo informed me, that each Brother paid a ſimilar contribution, and that the whole management of theſe Funds was left to the Brother Savalette, who never gave in any accounts. This was a Fund to be added to the many means of corruption already in the poſſeſſion of the adepts of the Occult Lodges. Who can ſay how far theſe reſources were extended in the hands of a man who had the care of the *Treſor Royal?* The Conſpirators very well knew how to chuſe both their men and their places.

ſelves or of the Code; but thoſe with whom I have as yet been acquainted, had only been initiated in part of the myſteries; yet by what they had learned, it will not be difficult for the reader to form a judgment of the remainder.

It is an inconteſtible fact to begin with, that Swedenborg's Illuminees, ſtyled in France the Martiniſts, and alſo calling themſelves the *beneficent Knights*, had their travelling adepts after the manner of the Illuminees of Weiſhaupt. It is alſo certain that the pretended *Philalethes*, or lovers of truth, had formed a code of laws for themſelves, had organized ſocieties, and, like Weiſhaupt, had intruded them into the Maſonic Lodges, there to ſearch after men who might be diſpoſed to receive their myſteries, and adopt their new degrees. Among the latter was one called the *Knights of the Phœnix*. A Knight of this degree giving himſelf out for a Saxon, and a Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, poſſeſſed of the moſt pompous certificates from ſeveral Princes of Germany, came to exerciſe his Apoſtleſhip in France a very few years before the late Revolution.* After having ſpent ſome time in a *central* town, viſited the Lodges, and obſerved the Brethren, he thought that he had diſcovered three worthy of being initiated in the higher ſciences.—The *Venerable* or Maſter of the Lodge, in whoſe words we ſhall relate the ſtory, was one of theſe worthies. "All "things agreed on, (ſaid the Venerable) we three waited "on our Illuminee, ardent to be initiated in the new myſ- "ries which he had promiſed.

"As he could not ſubject us to the ordinary trials, he "diſpenſed with them as much as lay in his power. In "the middle of his apartment he had prepared a chaffing- "diſh and a braſier full of fire; on his table were various "ſymbols, and among others a Phœnix encompaſſed by a "Serpent with its tail in its mouth, forming a circle.— "The explanation of the myſteries began by that of the "braſier and other ſymbols. 'This braſier (ſaid he) is "here to teach you, that *fire is the principle of all things*; "that it is the great agent of nature, and imparts action

* I could have named this man, as he is mentioned in my manuſcript Memoirs as a *Philaleie* Illuminee very famous in Pruſſia. But the perſon whom the reader will obſerve ſo indignant at theſe myſteries is at preſent in France; prudence, therefore, on his account, forbids me to mention names.

" to bodies. That man receives from that agent life, " with the power of thinking and of acting.' Such was " the tenor of his firſt leſſon. Our Illuminee then pro- " ceeded to explain the other ſymbols.—' This ſerpent " forming a circle (ſays he) is the emblem of *the Eterni-* " *ty of the World*, which, like this ſerpent, has neither " *beginning nor end.* The ſerpent, you may alſo know, " has the property of annually renovating its ſkin; this " will figure to you the revolutions of the univerſe, and " of nature, which appears to weaken and even to periſh " at certain epochs, but which, in the immenſity of ages, " only grows old to become young again, and to prepare " for new revolutions. This Phœnix is a ſtill more na- " tural expoſition of the ſucceſſion and perpetuation of " theſe phenomena. Mythology has repreſented this bird " as re-vivifying from its own aſhes, only to ſhow how " the univerſe is reproduced, and will continue to be ſo, " from itſelf.'

" Thus far the Illuminizing Baron had taught us, un- " der the common promiſe of ſecrecy, when on a ſudden " he ſtopped and informed us, that he could not proceed " any farther without previouſly exacting an oath, the " formula of which he read to us to ſee whether we were " diſpoſed to take it. We all ſhuddered at hearing it.— " The exact words I do not pretend to ſtate; but it was " a promiſe, in the moſt execrable terms, to obey the " chiefs of his Illuminiſm. We endeavored to conceal our " indignation, that we might hear to what lengths he " would proceed; he then came to the promiſe of *renoun-* " *cing and abjuring the moſt ſacred ties, thoſe of citizen,* " *of ſubject, of one's family, of father, mother, friend, chil-* " *dren, huſband.* At theſe words one of the three, unable " to endure it any longer, ſallied forth from the room, re- " turned with a drawn ſword in his hand, and ran at " the Illuminizing Baron in a moſt violent rage. We " were happy enough to ſtop and hold him until he had " recovered his ſenſes a little. Then, however, our col- " league burſt into the moſt violent paſſion, abuſing the " Baron for a raſcal, and telling him, that if he were not " out of the town in twenty-four hours he would have " him taken up and hanged." The reader will readily ſuppoſe that the Baron made the beſt of his way out of the place.

Another affair that will throw ſome light on this mon-

ſtrous Sect took place at Vienna. A young man of high birth, and who has ſignalized himſelf by his bravery during this war, felt an impulſe, like many others of his age, to become a Free-maſon. His Lodge, though he knew it not, was one of thoſe under the direction of the ſame ſpecies of Illuminees. He had often been made the bearer of letters which he ſtrongly ſuſpected. At length he determined not to deliver them, under pretence that he had not found the perſons at home to whom they were directed, but in fact becauſe he did not wiſh to be made the inſtrument of treaſon. Curioſity, however, getting the better of him, he ſtill continued to ſolicit admiſſion to the higher degrees. At length his initiation was fixed for the next day, when he received a letter demanding an immediate interview, and written in the moſt preſſing ſtyle.—When he came to the place appointed he found an adept the former friend of his father. "I am now taking ſuch "a ſtep (ſaid he), that the leaſt indiſcretion on your part "will certainly coſt me my life; but I thought myſelf "bound to it in conſequence of the friendſhip which your "father always ſhewed me and the regard that I have per-"ſonally for yourſelf. I am a loſt man if you do not keep "my ſecret; but on the other hand, you are forever un-"done if you preſent yourſelf at the Lodge to receive the "degree for which you have been ſoliciting. I know you "too well to think that you would take the oath which "will be propoſed to you: You cannot diſſemble; and "ſtill leſs will you be able to think or act as they would "wiſh to make you. Horror will betray you, and then "all will be over with you. You are already on the BLACK "LIST *as ſuſpected*. Knowing you as I do, I can aſſure "you that you will ſoon be on the *Red*, or BLOOD LIST "*(blode liſt)*; and then never flatter yourſelf with a hope "to eſcape the poiſons or the aſſaſſins of the Sect." This youth's reſolution was not to be ſubdued by fear. Before he would acquieſce, he wiſhed at leaſt to be made acquainted with ſome of thoſe terrible engagements in which he was to bind himſelf, and which he would not be able to keep. His friend then explained the oath that would be required, and he found it to be no other than the utter renunciation of all the moſt ſacred ties of Religion, of ſociety, and of nature; and a vow to recognize no other law than the commands of his Illuminizing Superiors. He ſhuddered at hearing of ſuch bonds; he found means of

deferring his initiation, and abandoned the Lodges entirely before it was too late. Since the Revolution, circumſtances have induced this Gentleman to leave the Auſtrian ſervice and engage in the Engliſh; but it was from his own mouth that I learned how much he feared that his friend had been put on the *Red Liſt* for the friendly ſervice he had rendered him. Certain it is, that he heard of his death a ſhort time after this interview had taken place.

The reader will naturally wiſh to return to our Bavarian Illuminees; but that he may better underſtand what was and what ought to be the effect of their miſſion, I muſt firſt deſcribe the compoſition of the Lodge in which they were to be received; and for that purpoſe, I muſt again inſiſt on thoſe Illuminees ſo well known in France under the name of *Theoſophes*. Let us compare the above-mentioned *black liſt* and BLOOD LIST with an anecdote that indeed I could never credit until I was at length informed of the circumſtances by men who were perfectly well acquainted with them. Every body knew that the large manſion of Ermenonville, belonging to Mr. Gerardin, and ſituated about thirty miles from Paris, was a principal haunt of Illuminiſm. It is alſo well known, that there, at the tomb of Jean Jaques Rouſſeau, under pretence of regenerating man and reſtoring him to the age of nature, the moſt horrible diſſoluteneſs of morals was practiſed. The famous impoſtor *Saint Germain* preſided over theſe myſteries; he was the God of them, and he alſo had his *blood liſt*. The Chevalier de LESCURE fell a fatal victim to it. He wiſhed to withdraw from this horrid ſociety; perhaps even to diſcover its abominations. Poiſon was mingled with his drink, and he was not a ſtranger to the cauſe of his death. Before he expired he poſitively declared to the MARQUIS DE MONTROI, a general officer, that he fell a victim to this infamous crew of Illuminees.*

The Lodge at Ermenonville.

* Nothing can equal the profligacy of morals that raged among theſe inhabitants of Ermenonville. Every woman admitted to the myſteries became common to the Brotherhood — That which *St. Germain* had choſen for himſelf was called the Virgin; ſhe alone had the privilege of not being delivered over to chance, or to the commands of theſe true Adamites, unleſs St. Germain thought proper to confer the title of Virgin on ſome other woman. This vile impoſtor, more adroit than Cag-

Having aſcertained theſe facts, I ſhall no longer heſitate to conſider as ſo many hiſtorical truths, firſt, all the oaths and wiſhes for the deſtruction of the Altar and the Throne; ſecondly, all thoſe doctrines ſo exactly coinciding with what has been already extracted from the works of the Sect; and, laſtly, all thoſe abominable oaths and horrid trials deſcribed by a multitude of authors. Nor ſhall I be guilty of any calumny when I declare, that the ſole difference between this Sect and Weiſhaupt's lies in the ceremonial. Atheiſm is as preciſely the ultimate object of their theoſophy, as it is of Weiſhaupt's myſteries. Neither will allow, that a man of nature can be bound by the laws of ſociety; both declare that ſovereigns are nothing more than tyrants; and both agree, that all means of annihilating Prieſts, Kings, Altars, and Laws, (however atrocious they may be in themſelves) become meritorious and noble when directed to that end. But they excel even the modern *Spartacus* in their arts for kindling and inflaming the zeal of their aſſaſſins and parricides. That the means of the former are not to be compared with thoſe of the latter, let the reader decide on the following ſtatement.

When one of thoſe unfortunate men who have been led away by the Sect into all the illuſions of their viſions, wiſhes to be initiated into the art of prodigies, the ſcience of ſciences, in ſhort into the laſt ſecrets of the adepts, the propoſition is made to him to conſummate his devotion to the ſuperiors who are entruſted with theſe ſciences. This will be a new contract, and will make him

lioſtro, had actually perſuaded his adepts that he was in poſſeſſion of an *Elixir of Immortality;* that he had gone through ſeveral changes by means of the metempſychoſis; that he had already died three times, but that he would die no more; that ſince his laſt change he had lived fifteen hundred years:—And there were dupes who, too wiſe to credit the eternal truths taught by a God-made-man, firmly believed in this metempſychoſis and in the fifteen hundred years of their God St. Germain!!—Neither did they know that that period of time was no more than an alluſion to the Maſonic degrees. According to the Maſonic fiction, an Apprentice is three years old, a Fellow-Craft five, and a Maſter ſeven. This age goes on in ſuch an increaſing ratio in certain degrees, that a Scotch Knight is ſaid to be *five hundred years old.* When a Maſon therefore comes and ſays, I am ſo many years old, it is no more than ſaying I am of ſuch a degree. *(See Geſchickte der unbekanten on the Scotch Degrees.)*

the blind inſtrument of all the plots into which he will ſoon be plunged. On the day appointed for his initiation he is led through dark windings to the den of trials. In this cavern the image of death, the mechaniſm of ſpectres, potions of blood, ſepulchral lamps, ſubterraneous voices, every thing, in ſhort, that can affright the imagination, and ſucceſſively hurry him from terror to enthuſiaſm, is put in action, until at length, worn out by fright, fatigue, hope, or enthuſiaſm, the candidate is ſo perfectly deprived of his reaſon, that he cannot help following any impulſe that he may receive. Then it is that the voice of the inviſible Hierophant burſts forth from this abyſs, makes the vaults reſound with its menaces, and preſcribes the following execrable oath, which the Candidate repeats after him:

" I here break all the ties of the fleſh that bind me to " father, mother, brothers, ſiſters, wife, relations, friends, " *miſtreſſes*, kings, chiefs, benefactors; in ſhort, to every " perſon to whom I have promiſed faith, obedience, gra- " tude, or ſervice."

" I ſwear to reveal to the new chief whom I acknow- " ledge every thing that I ſhall have ſeen, done, read, heard, " learned, or diſcovered; and even to ſeek after and ſpy " into things that might otherwiſe eſcape my notice. I " ſwear to revere the *Aqua Tophana*, as a certain, prompt, " and neceſſary means of ridding the earth by the death or " ſtupefaction of thoſe who revile the truth, or ſeek to " wreſt it from my hands."*

Scarcely has the candidate pronounced this oath when the ſame voice informs him, that from that inſtant he is releaſed *from all other oaths that he had taken either to his country or to the laws.* " Fly (it ſays) the temptation of " ever revealing what you have juſt heard; for light- " ning is not more inſtantaneous than the dagger that " ſhall reach you in whatever part of the world you may " be."

Thus did this atrocious Sect form its adepts. Springing from the delirious reveries of a Swedenborg, it travels from England to Avignon, Lyons, and Paris. In this latter town, and as early as the year 1781, a club of this ſpecies of Illuminees (to the number of 125 or 130)

* See the Red Lodge unveiled, Page 11, and the Hiſtory of the Aſſaſſination of Guſtavus III. King of Sweden, Sect. 4.

had formed itſelf, holding its ſittings in the above mentioned Rue de la Sourdiere. Savalette de Lange, the ſame man whom we have ſeen ſo immerſed in the correſpondence of the Committee of the *Amis Reunis*, preſided over this club. The famous Count St. Germain often held meetings at this ſame Lodge. CAGLIOSTRO was invited to it by a ſpecial deputation for the purpoſe. Hitherto this man's myſteries had only been thoſe of an impoſtor; but here he ſoon learned to be a conſpirator. It was from this Lodge that he derived that knowledge of the revolution which he pretended to foretel in a ſort of prophetic cant when he made his appearance in London after he had been liberated from the Baſtille. It was thence that he received his miſſions for Rome, where he was to ſow the ſeeds of Revolution. One of the Adepts that had been deputed to him was a Mr. RAYMOND, who had been the maſter of the Poſt-office at Beſancon. He was an enthuſiaſt, and his imagination was bewildered with Swedenborg's viſions. From him the knowledge was derived of this Lodge having had a hundred and thirty reſident members at Paris, and more than a *hundred and fifty* travelling members or correſpondents in different parts of the Globe; that, after the example of Holbach's club, they had their compilers and printers who were circulating their revolutionary poiſons among all claſſes of the people.* In the perſon of DIETRICH, Secretary to the Lodge, we find every ſpecies of Illuminiſm. CONDORCET alſo was a member; he who needed only to be made acquainted with Weiſhaupt's plots to belong to every conſpiring Sect; though it is not certain, that Dietrich had not already put him in direct correſpondence with the modern *Spartacus*.—Let the reader mark well of what perſons this Lodge was compoſed. We ſhall have occaſion to advert to it again for the illuſtration of many a ſanguinary ſcene. In the mean time let us take a view of other maſonic haunts, that we may diſcover all

* I have been informed of all theſe circumſtances by a man who was for a long time connected with the Poſtmaſter Raymond, but who reſiſted all his arts of ſeduction. This ſame perſons, on whom I can perfectly rely, alſo informed me, that he had ſeen the minutes of the Lodge, which were regularly printed by *Clouzier* in the *Rue de Sorbonne;* but that they were ſo overloaded with *ſigns* and *hieroglyphics*, that it was impoſſible for any but the adepts to read them.

these different Sects, the harbingers of such horrors, uniting and combining into one hideous mass of conspirators under the disastrous name of Jacobins.

Beside the lodges that I have already named, there existed two others in Paris, the more remarkable as they shew how the conspirators would as it were class themselves according to the degree of error they had adopted, or the views that had prompted them to engage in the general conspiracy. One of these Lodges was called *the Nine Sisters*. This was the re-union of the Masonic brethren who styled themselves Philosophers. The other was named the *Lodge of Candor*, and was chiefly composed of those Masons who in the world held a high rank and bore titles of nobility, while in the Lodges they traiterously conspired against Nobility, and more particularly against the monarchy and against religion.

The unfortunate *Duke de la Rochefoucault*, at once the dupe and protector of the Sophisters, belonged to the Lodge of the *Nine Sisters*. *Pastoret* was the Master of it, he who in public appeared to sacrifice to rank and riches, and even to court religion; but whose revolutionary career would have caused less surprize had the active part he had taken in the dark recesses of this Lodge been more generally known. The name of *Condorcet* also appears here, as it does in every haunt of rebellion.—Together with him we find a long list of all the Sophisters of the day, such as *Brissot*, *Garat*, the commander *Dolomieu*, *Lacepede*, *Bailly*, *Camille Desmoulins*, *Cerutti*, *Fourcroi*, *Danton*, *Millin*, *Lalande*, *Bonne*, *Chateau*, *Randon*, *Chenier*, *Mercier*, *Gudin*, *La Metherie*, and the *Marquis de la Salle*, who not finding the Lodge of the Social Contract sufficiently philosophized, had come over to Condorcet. There was also *Champfort*, who never could think that the revolution of Equality and Liberty advanced with sufficient rapidity, till at length fettered in its chains, he could find no other resource in his Philosophism than suicide. Among the apostate clergy that had flocked thither, we find *Noel*, *Pingré*, and *Mulot*. The two latter, together with *Lalande*, were also members of the Secret Committee of the *Grand Orient*. *Dom Gerles*, in company with *Rabaud de St. Etienne* and *Petion*, came and joined the Lodge of the Nine Sisters in the early time of the Revolution. *Fauchet* took his station at the *Bouche de Fer*, with *Goupil de Prefeln* and *Bonneville*.

The Lodge of the Nine Sisters.

As to *Syeyes*, the moſt zealous of this brotherhood and of the whole revolutionary crew, he had formed a new Lodge at the *Palais Royal*, called the *Club of the Twenty-two*, and compoſed of the choſen of the Elect.

Such perſons as wiſh to form a more preciſe idea of the revolutionary ſpirit that predominated in this Lodge, need only to conſult thoſe works publiſhed by its members, when the court, at the inſtigation of Necker, imprudently invited all the Sophiſters to lay before the public their views on the compoſition of the States General. A work of this nature, written by La Metherie, being read at the hotel, and in preſence of the Duke de la Rochefoucault, a French nobleman, who has ſince mentioned it to me, ventured to ſay, that the poſitions laid down in that work were derogatory to the rights of the ſovereign and to religion. '*Well*,' (ſaid the duke, a mere dupe of his Sophiſters), *either the court will admit of theſe plans, and then we ſhall be able to arrange matters as we pleaſe; or elſe, the court will reject them, and in that caſe we muſt do without a king.*' Such, indeed, was the opinion generally entertained and declared by the ſophiſticated Maſons, ſuch as Bailly, Gudin, La Metherie, Dupont, &c.* They wiſhed to eſtabliſh a king ſubjected to all their theory of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the people; but it was only through them that the people were to dictate the laws; and ſome of theſe *ſoi-diſant* ſages wiſhed to annihilate royalty entirely. Several of them, ſuch as Briſſot and his faction, already ſhewed diſpoſitions to reject all terms with the throne; and reviling it was only the prelude to its utter ſubverſion.

The Lodge *de la Candeur.*

There was another ſet of brethren, who frequented the *Loge de la Candeur*; but, following other plans, they ſought to combine their ambition with the Maſonic Equality and Liberty. There did *La Fayette*, the diſciple of Syeyes, liſping the *Rights of Man*, and already aſſerting that *inſurrection was a moſt ſacred duty*, dream that he was the rival of the immortal Waſhington. The Brothers *Lameth*, ſurnamed the *ungrateful*, flocked thither to puniſh the court for the favors conferred on them; ſo did the *Marquis de Monteſquiou*, *Moreton de Chabrillant*, and *Cuſtines*, in hopes of revenge for having been ſlight-

* See the account given of their works in Vol. II. of theſe Memoirs.

ed by that ſame court. Here alſo were ſeated many agents of Philip D'Orleans, ſuch as his counſellor *La Clos*, his chancellor *La Touche*, *Sillery* the vileſt of ſlaves, and *D'Aiguillon* the moſt hideous of mummers.* Thither alſo had reſorted the Marquis de *Luſignan* and the Prince of *Broglio*, whoſe youth was about to tarniſh the glory of a name that deſerved a better fate. The Phyſician *Guillotin* is the only brother that I can find in this Lodge who did not bear a title. He ſoon felt the effects of its power, when cited before the Parliament to anſwer for a ſeditious publication; he beheld thouſands of adepts flocking in on all ſides and threatening the magiſtrates, who might now plainly perceive that it was too late to contend againſt the federated bands of Maſonry.

Such was the ſtate of the Lodges, and of the moſt remarkable Brethren at Paris, when the Deputies of Illuminiſm arrived from Germany. Moſt authors make them alight at the Lodge of the *Contrat Social*, *Rue Coq-heron*. I fear that I have myſelf prepared my readers for a ſimilar error, when ſpeaking (in Vol. II. Chap. XIII. of theſe Memoirs) of a Lodge eſtabliſhed in that ſame ſtreet. I recollect, however, that I particularly mentioned them to be the Sophiſters adherent to the Duke de la Rochefoucault; and none of thoſe belonged to the *Contrat Social*. Though I may have miſtaken the ſtreet in which they aſſembled, I was not in any error with reſpect to the perſons of the Conſpirators. The better to diſtinguiſh them, and that I might not confound them with another ſpecies of Maſons, I made the ſtricteſt inquiries. Among other documents, I procured a very numerous liſt of the Brethren of the *Social Contract*.† I therein found men who are well known for their attachment to royalty, and not a ſingle one who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for

Lodge of the *Contrat Social*.

* All Paris was acquainted with his accoutrements and remembers the hideous figure that he cut on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, in the midſt of the Poiſſards at Verſailles.

† I ſhould have given this liſt, but that I could not ſuppoſe that ſo many Dukes, Marquiſſes, and Barons, would like to ſee their names made public. Beſides, I am not writing the hiſtory of the dupes, but of the conſpiring Brethren.—I think it, however, proper to obſerve, that when the fœderation, of which I am about to ſpeak, was undertaken, they, (by the advice of the queen) admitted ſeveral members of a leſs ariſtocratic turn, leſt their Lodge ſhould be ſuſpected of ariſtocracy.

the revolution. I alſo found that this error (ſo ſcandalizing to the *Social Contract*) originated in a work called *Les Maſques Arrachés* publiſhed under the feigned name of *Jaques Le Sueur*, which is nothing but a ſcurrilous libel on perſons of the higheſt reſpectability. This author transforms men whom I have known to be the moſt violent enemies to the revolution into the moſt zealous abettors of it. He alſo makes the Duke de la Rochefoucault, the Abbé Fauchet, Bailly, and La Fayette, members of the *Social Contract*, though they never belonged to it. He places it under the direction of the Grand Master Philip of Orleans, whereas it never filiated from any Lodge but that of Edinburgh. He paints the venerable Cardinal of Malines in the falſeſt colors, as will evidently appear to every perſon who is acquainted with his high reputation for virtue and wiſdom. On the whole I do not think that this ſuppoſed *Le Sueur* can be quoted as an authority in any thing, except in what he ſays on the reception of the *Philalete Illuminees*; and even there he is moſt abominable in his perſonalities, and pretends to have been an actor in the ſcene when he is but the plagiary copyiſt of Mirabeau.

I have beſides acquired a certainty that Weiſhaupt's emiſſaries could not have applied to men more inimical to his ſyſtems, whether Maſonic or Anarchical, than the members of the *Social Contract*, as by their orders the famous work written by Bonneville, Bode's great friend, was burnt in open Lodge. In ſhort, I have in my poſſeſſion the *original letter* (or, in Maſonic language, the *planche tracée*) written by a man with whom I was acquainted, and on the formal deliberation of the *Social Contract* tranſmitted to ſeveral other lodges, to engage them to join in a federation for the ſupport of Louis XVI. againſt the Jacobins. It is true, that the royaliſt brethren of this Lodge were the complete dupes of this projected federation, for they invited the Lodges to form an union for the maintaining of the King according to the conſtitution of 1789. Louis XVI. who really wiſhed to keep the oath that had been forced from him to be true to the conſtitution, was very well pleaſed with the liſt of the federated Maſons; but Mr. de La Porte, then miniſter, was of a different opinion. When he ſaw the *circular letter*, and the number of perſons who had ſubſcribed it, he ſaid, "It is impoſſible that theſe perſons can be other

" than conſtitutionaliſts, or that they can ever become " ſtaunch royaliſts."—" Let us begin (rejoined the agents " of the Social Contract) by maintaing the king in his " preſent ſtate, and we will afterwards find means of re- " eſtabliſhing the true Monarchy." This anſwer may ſerve as a vindication for the members of the *Social Contract*; but their good intentions did not make their deluſion the leſs complete. In the firſt place, they *might* have ſeen, but they *did not* ſee, that the greater number of thoſe who had ſigned the letter were men who wiſhed to continue to enjoy their Equality and Liberty under a King reduced to the condition of a mere Doge to the ſovereign and legiſlative people; and that La Fayette, Bailly, and many other revolutioniſts, would have ſigned this letter, without ceaſing on that account to be jacobins and rebels. Neither did they reflect, that many of thoſe conſtitutional brethren would have turned againſt the *Social Contract*, as ſoon as they perceived the plan for reinſtating the Monarch in his ancient rights; nor that it was far more eaſy to entice theſe conſtitutionaliſts into the moſt outrageous democracy of the great club, than to bring them back to the principles of real monarchy. In ſhort they had overlooked the vaſt number of adepts of democracy who would infallibly denounce them as traitors to Equality and Liberty, which afterwards proved to be the caſe. It was to very little purpoſe that the abettors of this federation terminated their letter with the following words:—" This *table* is only for your chapter. " Make diſcreet uſe of it. We have *two ſacred intereſts* " to manage, that of the French Monarchy and its King, " and that of Maſonry and its Members." The intereſts of Maſonry carried the day; for, at the very time that the demi-adepts were ſubſcribing the letter, the more profound adepts were from every quarter denouncing the federation to the great club, and the *Social Contract* was itſelf proſcribed.

Certain of this fact, and obſerving that the brethren of the *Social Contract* poſitively declare, in the *table tracée* (which I have before me) *that all political and deliberating clubs ſhould be ſuppreſſed*; being alſo aſſured, by ſeveral Maſons, that it was from the Committee of the *Amis Réunis* that the invitations were ſent to go and deliberate with the Geman deputies, I find myſelf obliged to differ with thoſe writers who declare the Emiſſaries of Illuminiſm to have alighted at the Social Contract, and

who attribute to that Lodge the political committees eſtabliſhed on their arrival. It may very poſſibly have happened, that ſome one of theſe committees may have taken its ſtation in the ſame ſtreet; but certain it is, that ſuch committee was not compoſed of members from the *Social Contract*. So likewiſe is it a mere fable that has been ſpread, with regard to the inſcription ſuppoſed to have been written by Philip of Orleans on the door of this Lodge, *Hither each brings his ray of light*. Let it then be remembered, that it was to the Committee of the *Amis réunis* that Mirabeau had directed the illuminizing brethren from Germany.—Savalette and Bonneville had made this committee the central point of revolution and of the myſteries. There met in council, on the days appointed, not only the Pariſian adepts, but thoſe of all the provinces who were judged worthy of being admitted to the profound myſteries of the Sect. There were to be ſeen the Elect of the Philaletes, the profound Roſicrucians and Knights Kadoſch, the Elect of the *Rue Sourdière*, of the *Nine Siſters*, of the *Lodge of Candour*, and of the moſt ſecret committees of the *Grand Orient*. This was the landing place of the travelling brethren from Lyons, Avignon and Bourdeaux. The emiſſaries from Germany could not find a central point better adapted to their new myſteries than this committee; and there it was that they unfolded all the importance of their miſſion. Weiſhaupt's code was ordered to lie on the table, and commiſſioners were named to examine it and make their report.

But here the gates of this ſecret ſenate are ſhut againſt us. I do not pretend to penetrate the dark receſs, and deſcribe the deliberations that took place on this occaſion. Many brethren have informed me, that they remember the deputation, but they ſcarcely recollect *Amelius*-Bode and *Bayard*-Buſche under any other denomination than that of the *German brethren*. They have ſeen theſe deputies received in different Lodges with all the etiquette due to viſitors of high importance; but it was not on ſuch occaſions that a coalition was debated on, between the ancient myſteries of Maſonry and thoſe of the modern *Spartacus*. All that my memorials ſay on the ſubject is, that negociations took place; that the deputies reported to their Areopage; that the negociations laſted longer than was expected; and that it was at length decided, that the new myſteries ſhould be introduced into the French Lodges, but under a Maſonic form; and that they ſhould all be

illuminized without even knowing the name of the Sect whose mysteries they were adopting. Only such parts of Weishaupt's code were to be selected as the circumstances would require to hasten the revolution. Had not the facts that immediately followed this negociation transpired to point out its effects, we should still have been in the dark as to its great success; the news of which *Amelius* and *Bayard* carried back to their illuminized brethren in Germany. But, happily for history, facts have spoken; and it will be easy to see how far this famous embassy influenced the French Revolution.

At the time of their arrival, Paris swarmed with impostors, all raising spirits or conjuring up the dead, in order to pick the pockets of the living; or magnetizing and throwing *into a crisis* certain *knowing dupes*, or knaves, who well knew the parts they had to act. Others again would work cures on *healthy dupes*, to swindle away the money of those who were really ill. In a word, *Mesmer* presided there in all his glory. I make this observation, because the illuminizing deputies pretended that they had been attracted from Germany by the fame of *Mesmer's* science, which had spread throughout their country; it also serves to shew, that their arrival could not have been later than the year 1787, as in the very next year *Mesmerism* and its *tubs* were entirely abandoned, or confined to a few adepts, the object of public ridicule, who resorted to the hotel of the Dutchess of Bourbon. Such a pretext, therefore at that period would have been as much ridiculed as were *Mesmer's* dupes. The *Notables*, the Parliament, Brienne, and Necker, at that time furnished the Parisians with more important matter for consideration. Beside, my instructions, as well as many persons the best informed on the subject, even Masons at whose Lodges these German brethren attended as visitors, state their arrival to have taken place about the time of the convocation of the first assembly of the *Notables*, which opened on the 22d February 1787. And, in fact, it is from that very year that we may observe the code of Weishaupt influencing French Masonry.

The illuminization of France demonstrated by facts.

In that year we see all the mysteries of the *Amis réunis*, and of the other Lodges that had adopted the pretended mysticity of the Martinists, disappear. The very name of *Philalete* seemed to have been forgotten. New explanations are given to the Masonic secrets; a new de-

gree is introduced into the Lodges; and the brethren of Paris haſten to tranſmit it to thoſe in the provinces. The adepts flock to the new myſteries. I have now before me a memorial written by an adept, who about the end of the year 1787 received the code at his Lodge, though he lived at eighty leagues diſtance from Paris. According to the agreement made with the Deputies, all the forms of Maſonry were preſerved in this new degree; *the ribbon was yellow, the badge was a ſtar, and its feſtivals were kept at the Equinox*; but the ground-work of its myſteries was a diſcourſe entirely copied from that pronounced by the illuminizing Hierophant in the degree of Epopt. *The dawn of a great day begins to break upon us, when the ſecrets of Maſonry hitherto unknown, ſhall become the property of all free men.* In ſhort, it contained all the *principles of Equality and Liberty, and of natural religion*, detailed in the degree of Epopt; and even the enthuſiaſm of ſtyle was preſerved. The diſcourſes pronounced by the *Knights of the Sun*, or Knights *Kadoſch*, on ſimilar occaſions were not to be compared to this.—The very Maſon who has given me this information, though he had been admitted to all the other degrees, was ſo diſguſted with this, that he refuſed it; but the greater part of the brethren of his Lodge were ſo much electrified by it, that *they became the moſt zealous ſticklers for the revolution.* Some have even held conſpicuous places in it, *and one actually became miniſter.* In this new degree, the reader muſt remark the very name of Illuminee was not mentioned; it was merely a farther explanation of the origin and ſecrets of Maſonry. The French Maſons were now ripe for ſuch an explanation; they were in a ſtate ſimilar to that deſcribed by Knigge when ſpeaking of the Brethren who inhabited the proteſtant parts of Germany; they needed no long trials; they were illuminized with the ſame facility; the name ſignified little; they received the degree, and ran wild with the ſame enthuſiaſm.

It was difficult, however, as yet, to judge by the diſpoſitions of the different Lodges what turn the revolution would take. The Maſons in general wiſhed for a change in the conſtitution; but the cheſen of the Elect alone were initiated in all the diſorganizing plans of their Equality and Liberty. Their myſteries, it is true, were unfolded in the higher degrees; but it muſt be alſo re-

membered, that terror had there much more influence than conviction. I was acquainted with Maſons who had ſworn *hatred to kings* on their reception to the degree of *Kadoſch*;—nevertheleſs I have ſeen them regardleſs of that oath become the ſtaunch friends of Monarchy. That ſpirit, inherent to the French nation, got the better of the Maſonic views; that was the ſpirit which was to be eradicated from the minds of the brethren; and all the ſophiſtry and deluſions of the illuminizing Hierophants were to be practiſed for that purpoſe. It was in his degree of *Epopt* that the modern *Spartacus* had condenſed all his poiſons by which he was to infuſe into his adepts that frantic rage againſt kings, which he had himſelf imbibed. Such alſo was the intention and effect of the degree of the *Maſonic Epopt*.

But Illuminiſm was not to be appeaſed by ſeeing the adepts of the ancient Lodges ſacrificing at its ſhrine.—The Hierophant tells his diſciples, that *they are to acquire ſtrength by gaining over the multitude*. This is alſo the II. period (at the introduction of the new degree, and the return of the deputies to Germany) when the Lodges are multiplied beyond any former precedent, both in Paris and the provinces, and when the ſyſtem for the reception of Maſons is changed. However low Maſonry may have ſtooped in queſt of candidates, it had not as yet been ſeen recruiting in the ſuburbs among the loweſt rabble; all at once we ſee the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau filled with Lodges compoſed of porters and laborers, now decorated with the levelling badges of Maſonry. In the country towns and villages, Lodges are opened for aſſembling the workmen and peaſantry, in hopes of heating their imaginations with the ſophiſticated ideas of Equality and Liberty and the Rights of Man.—At that ſame period does Philip of Orleans introduce to the Maſonic myſteries thoſe French Guards, whom he deſtined to the ſubſequent attack of the Baſtille and the ſtorming of the palace of his royal maſter and kinſman. Let the officers of thoſe legions be queſtioned why they abandoned the Lodges; and they will tell you, it was becauſe they did not chooſe to be confounded with their common ſoldiers in this Maſonic Equality.

At that ſame period is Paris over-run with an immenſe III. number of clubs and literary ſocieties, on the plan of the Germanic union, and ſuch as it had already eſtabliſhed on

the banks of the Rhine. They are no longer Lodges, but Clubs, *regulating committees*, and *political committees*. All these clubs deliberate. Their resolutions, as well as those of the committee of the *Amis des Noirs*, are all transmitted to the committee of correspondence of the *Grand Orient*, and thence are forwarded to the Venerables in the provinces. This is no more than that concatenation of revolt, invented by Weishaupt to revolutionize nations from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, at one and the same hour. The chief committee of these *regulating committees* is no other than the French *Areopage*. In place of *Spartacus*-Weishaupt, *Philo*-Knigge, *Marius*-Hertel, &c. we find, wielding the firebrands of revolution in the capital of France, a *Philip of Orleans*, a *Mirabeau*, a *Syeyes*, a *Savalette de Lange*, a *Condorcet*, &c.

IV. Scarcely is the construction of this chain of rebellion made known to them, before they set about forming it throughout the state. Instructions are sent to the very extremities of the kingdom; all the Venerables are ordered *to acknowledge the reception of them, and to subjoin to their answer the oath of faithfully and punctually executing all commands they may receive through the same channel.* Those who might hesitate at such an oath are menaced with all the *poignards* and *aqua tophana* that await traitors to the Sect.*

V. Those Masters of Lodges who through fear or disgust were unwilling to engage in so awful an undertaking, had no other resource left but to abandon the Lodge and the mallet, under whatever pretence their fears could suggest. They were replaced by more zealous brethren,† and the orders continued to be transmitted until the meeting of the States-General. The day of general insurrection is fixed for the 14th of July 1789. At the same hour, and in all parts of France, the cries of Equality and Liberty resound from the Lodges. Paris bristles up in a phalanx of pikes, hatchets, and bayonets; couriers are sent into the provinces, and they return with the news of a similar

* See Vol. II. of these Memoirs, Chap. XIII.

† These letters and menaces were transmitted during the sitting of the States of Brittany, that is to say, about June or July, 1788; at least it was at that time that a member of those States, a Mason and a Knight Kadosch, received his.—The new degree had been received at his Lodge about six months before.

insurrection; towns, villages, nay, the very fields and cots, resound with the cries of Equality and Liberty, and are thus in unison with the brethren of the capital. On this fatal day *the Lodges are dissolved.* The grand adepts are now seated in the town-houses in revolutionary committees. As they predominated in the Electoral Assemblies, so are they now predominant in the assembly styling itself National. Their cut-throat bands have been trying their strength, and the barriers of Paris are beaten to the ground; the country-houses of the nobility are in flames; the lantern posts are put in requisition; and heads are carried in savage triumph through the streets of Paris. The Monarch is attacked in his palace, and his faithful guards butchered; prodigies of valor alone could save the life of his royal consort; and the King himself is dragged a prisoner to his capital. Good God! whither am I proceeding?—all Europe is acquainted with the dreadful tale.—Let us return then to the hand that organizes this horrid concatenation of villany.

The Lodges had thus been transformed into a vast correſponding ſociety; and, through the means of that correſpondence, France had in a ſingle day been overwhelmed by a million of demoniacs, who with horrid yell proclaimed their Equality and Liberty, while they were committing the moſt abominable outrages. And who were the men that preſided over theſe primitive diſaſters?—Hiſtory immediately points to a new den of conſpirators, holding their meetings at Verſailles, under the title of the *Breton Club.* And who are the members of it? Mirabeau, Syeyes, Barnave, Chapellier, the Marquis de la Coſte, Glezen, Bouche, Petion; in ſhort, an aggregate of the moſt profound adepts, both of the capital and of the provinces, who ſupply the place of the central committee, and by means of the eſtabliſhed correſpondence fix the time and manner of the inſurrection. They are, however, but at the commencement of that long career of crime and iniquity which they are to run; they muſt concert new means, and gain over hands and numbers to accompliſh the views which they were proſecuting. The better to direct this horrid courſe, they impatiently wait the day when they may ſally forth from their dark receſſes; and it is to the temple of the living God, to the church of religious men called Jacobins, that Mirabeau convokes the Pariſian adepts; it is there that he eſtabliſhes himſelf

Origin of the appellation of *Jacobin.*

with the very men who compoſes the Breton Club. The whole conſpiring crew flock around him. From that inſtant this temple is converted into a den of conſpirators, and is only known by the name of Club, the name of theſe antient religious who heretofore made it refound with the praiſes of the living God, is given to this horde of blaſphemers, the re-union of every claſs of conſpirators.—Soon does all Europe deſignate by the name of *Jacobin* the authors and abettors of the French Revolution. The curſe once pronounced on this name, it is but juſt and proper that the appellation of JACOBIN alone ſhould carry with it the idea of a general coalition of the *Sophiſters of Impiety* conſpiring againſt their God and Chriſtianity; of the *Sophiſters of Rebellion* conſpiring againſt their God and their King; and of the *Sophiſters of Impiety and Anarchy* conſpiring againſt their God, their King, and all civil ſociety whatever.

Let us now enter this den of rebellion, which may be looked upon as the prototype of thoſe numerous aſſociations which are ſoon ſpread under the ſame name thro'out the provinces. It is thither, it is to that monſtrous union of every ſpecies of conſpiring Sect, that the taſk which I undertook at the outſet of theſe Memoirs leads both me and my readers, to follow thoſe different conſpiring Sects from their origin to their terrible coalition in this den of conſpirators under the name of *Jacobins*. Darkneſs may have hitherto encompaſſed the proceedings of thoſe different Sects; and ſome readers may have been blind to conviction, and diſbelieved the evidence I have adduced to prove that the commencement of this fatal union is to be dated from the intruſion of the Sophiſters into the Maſonic Lodges, and the conſummation of it from the coalition of the latter with the deputies of Illuminiſm. But broad day-light will now betray their actions; behold the Sophiſters, the Rebels, the Adepts of every claſs aſſembled, all bound by the ſame oath, whether Roſicrucians, Knights Kadoſch, or diſciples of Voltaire and Jean Jaques, whether Knights Templar, Epopts of Illuminiſm, or diſciples of Swedenborg and St. Martin; here, I ſay, all are holding council and concerting ruin, devaſtation, and all that meaſureleſs chain of revolutionary crimes.

The Jacobins and Adepts identically the ſame; in perſons;

That impious man, who had firſt ſworn to cruſh God and his Goſpel, was no more; but his diſciples were ſtill in life and vigor. We have ſeen them ſpringing up

from their academic meetings, retailing their blaſphemies in thoſe petty aſſemblies pretending to the *bel eſprit*, under the auſpices of the female adepts, ſuch as the Dutcheſs D'Anville, the Marquiſe du Deffant, or the Geofrins, Eſpinaces, Neckers, and Staels. They then framed their conſpiracies at the Hotel D'Holbach. To ſupport the illuſions of their Sophiſtry by the ſtrength of Legions, they obtrude themſelves on the Maſonic Lodges; but now they have abandoned their pettifogging female adepts, their academies, nay, the Hotel D'Holbach and the Lodges themſelves are deſerted; the great revolutionary gulph has ſwallowed them all. Behold them muffled up in the red cap; the cloak of Philoſophy has been caſt aſide; behold them all, Condorcet, Briſſot, Bailly, Garat, Ceruty, Mercier, Rabaud, Cara, Gorſas, Dupui, Dupont, Lalande, Atheiſts, Deiſts, Encyclopediſts, Œconomiſts, in ſhort, ſelf-created Philoſophers of every ſpecies and every kind. Here they appear foremoſt in the ranks of *rebellion*, as they formerly did in thoſe of *impiety*. Behold them intermixed with the dregs of the Brigands and of the Lodges, as well as with the leaders of the bands and the heroes of the myſteries; with the banditti of Philip of Orleans, as well as with his worthy advocate *Chabroud*, or his rival *La Fayette*. Behold them in council with the traitors of ariſtocracy, as well as with the apoſtates of the clergy; with the Duke of Chartres, the Marquis de Monteſquieu, and de la Salle, the Counts Pardieu, de Latouche, Charles and Theodore Lameth, Victor Broglio, Alexander Beauharnois, St. Fargeau, as well as with Syeyes, Perigord D'Autun, Noel, Chabot, Dom Gerles, Fauchet, and all the *intruding* tribe.

It is not by accident that we ſee theſe ancient conſpirators, whether literary or maſonic, coaleſcing with the conſpiring brethren of the Provinces, ſuch as Barrere, Mendouze, Bonnecarrere, and Collot d'Herbois; it is not by chance that the Jacobin clubs both in Paris and the Provinces become the general receptacle for Roſicrucians, Knights Templars, Knights of the Sun, and Knights Kadoſch; or of thoſe in particular who, under the name of *Philaletes*, were enthuſiaſtically wedded to the myſteries of Swedenborg, whether at Paris, Lyons, Avignon, Bourdeaux, or Grenoble. The club having once founded the trump of rebellion, where elſe ſhould we go to ſearch for thoſe zealous Martiniſts, Savalette de Lange, Milanois,

Willermoz, and men of their ſtamp? They had improved on the ſyſtems of their forerunners the Roſicrucians; they will, now that they have entered the great club, outſtrip them with gigantic ſtrides. They had coaleſced with the illuminizing *Spartacus*; and in uniſon with his adepts they are now become the moſt ardent Jacobins.*

But to whatever cauſe people may chooſe to aſcribe this general reunion of ſo many conſpirators, and of their ſyſtems, the fact certainly cannot be controverted. It had been firſt ſet on foot on the arrival of Bode; it was completed at the Club of the Jacobins. The liſt is public,

* See a Liſt of the principal Jacobins in a work, entitled, "*Of the Cauſes and Effects of Jacobiniſm.*"

It is an obſervation that did not eſcape the notice of the German writers, and which I repeatedly find in the memorials ſent to me, that the greateſt viſionaries of the Roſicrucian Maſons and of the Philaletes are ſince become the moſt zealous apoſtles of Weiſhaupt's Illuminiſm, and of his Revolution.—The Germans particularly mark out one *Hülmer*, a famous Martiniſt of Pruſſia, and a *George Föſter*, who in his great zeal for the myſteries of Swedenborg would paſs fifteen days in faſting and prayer to obtain the viſion of a ſpirit, or to diſcover the *Philoſopher's Stone*. Since that time, however, they have both turned out to be moſt outrageous Jacobins.—In France many examples of this kind may be adduced: *Prunelle de Lierre*, for inſtance, a man heretofore of moſt amiable character, and a very good naturaliſt. He firſt became a recluſe Martiniſt, and ſoon after as outrageous a Jacobin as *Föſter*.—As for *Periſſe*, the bookſeller, he acted the ſame part at Lyons for the correſpondence of the Martiniſts, as Savalette de Lang did at Paris; but he did not take the ſame precautions. One might ſee him going to the Lodge followed by his port-folio, which a ſervant could ſcarcely carry. Weiſhaupt's code gained admittance to this port-folio; the revolution took place; and Periſſe, together with his co-adept Miſanois, became as outrageous Jacobins as the reſt.—What is there that cannot be ſaid of the Martiniſts of Avignon?—Was there ever ſuch atrocious ferocity ſhown as by the ringleaders of this Lodge?—All this tends to confirm the poſition, that between the adepts of Swedenborg, and the adepts of Weiſhaupt, there was but a ſlight ſhade of ſeparation. The ſuppoſed theoſophy of the one differed but little from the atheiſm of the other. Weiſhaupt goes more directly to the point; but the annihilation of all religion is the real object of both their myſteries. It is even worthy of remark, that the modern *Spartacus* was on the eve of grounding all his myſteries on that very Theoſophy where *fire is the principle*, and on the theology of the Perſians, as did the Philaletes and Martiniſts.——*(See Knights of the Phœnix, Original Writings, Vol. I. Let.* 46.*)*

and it contains the names of all the profound adepts who had hitherto been diſperſed among the Lodges. But let the reader never forget that it is not a mere local union, or an identity of perſons; it is an identity of principles, of method, of oaths, and of means; it is the general concert of theſe conſpirators that proves the coalition.

If we turn to the diſcourſes delivered in the club (for the brethren now have their journals and their public archives) we ſhall find that Voltaire and Rouſſeau are their oracles, juſt as they were of the Sophiſters when in their Literary Societies. In that club do they repeat all the blaſphemous ſophiſtry againſt Chriſtianity which they had formerly uttered at the Hotel D'Holbach; the ſame enthuſiaſtic declamations in favor of *Equality* and *Liberty*, the grand ſecret of thoſe Sects that had hidden themſelves in the occult Lodges. Theſe adepts found themſelves perfectly at home within this new den of conſpirators; the *coſtume* and the ſymbols had changed, it is true; but in ſubſtituting the red, or rather the bloody, cap of liberty for the apron and level, they only adopted a more typical emblem of their antique myſteries. The Preſident is now the Venerable; the brethren aſk leave to ſpeak, and he grants or refuſes it with all the parade of Maſonry. When deliberating, the votes are taken juſt as in the occult Lodges. The laws of the Free-maſons for the admiſſion or expulſion of brethren are the ſame. As in the *Grand Orient*, or at the *Amis réunis*, and in the Lodges in general, no candidate is received unleſs he be preſented by *two ſponſors*, who anſwer for his conduct and obedience; juſt ſo is it in the club. Here the obedience ſworn is preciſely the ſame as that ſworn in the occult myſteries of Maſonry. To be received a Jacobin, as to become a Roſicrucian or an Illuminee, the candidate is obliged to ſwear implicit obedience to the deciſions of the brethren; and alſo to obſerve and cauſe to be obſerved all decrees paſſed by the National Aſſembly *in conſequence of the deciſions of the club*. He then binds himſelf to denounce to the club any man who ſhall to his knowledge counteract the decrees propoſed by the club; and that he will make no exception in favor of *his moſt intimate friends, of his father, mother, or of any part of his family*. In ſhort he will, in common with the diſciples of Illuminiſm, ſwear to execute or cauſe to be executed all orders emanating from the privy council of the club, *though they*

in principles;

in forms;

in oaths;

in government;

should be repugnant to his sentiments and conscience;* for the Jacobin club, like the *Grand Orient*, had its committees and privy counsellors. The brethren have not abandoned their Lodges, as renouncing all their means of hastening, fomenting, and propagating revolutions. They have established here, just as at the *Grand Orient*, committees for *the reports*, for the *finances*, for the *correspondence*, and, lastly, the grand committee of all, the *secret committee*; and nearly all the members of these different committees are the very persons whom we have seen flocking from the Lodges to the great club.†

In proscriptions; In this club of Jacobins too is to be found, in common with the Occult Lodges of illuminized Masonry the laws of exclusion and proscription. They have the *black list* and the *red list*, and this is a *list of blood*. The name of a rejected brother is never inscribed on it without effect. Paris has more than once seen such lists posted up; it has also seen those devoted victims perish, or, at best, save themselves by flight.‡

Thus, in this den of conspirators do we find every thing in perfect unison with the Occult Lodges, to which it only succeeds. Adepts, object, principles, all are the same; whether we turn our eyes toward the adepts of impiety, or rebellion, or of anarchy, they are now but one conspiring Sect, under the disastrous name of Jacobin.—We have hitherto denominated some by the name of *Sophisters*, others by that of *Occult Masons*, and, lastly, we have described those men styled *Illuminees*. Their very names will now disappear; they will in future all be fully described by the name of *Jacobin*.

It has been an arduous task to collect the proofs of this monstrous association. When we look back to that day when Voltaire swore *to crush* the supposed *wretch* in support of his Equality and Liberty; to that day when Montesquieu dogmatically asserted, that all nations subject to a Monarch, and to laws that they had not made, were slaves; to that day, in short, when Rousseau points out as a public malefactor against mankind the man who had

* See Memoirs of the Club of the Jacobins.

† See the list of the committees in *the Causes and Effects of the Revolution*.—Montjoie on the *Conspiracy of Orleans*, Book XIII.

‡ Ibid. *and Brissot to his Constituents*, when expelled from the Jacobins.

firſt encloſed a field and was preſumptuous enough to declare that it was his property, and thus became the founder of civil ſociety; from thoſe days, I ſay, until the fatal period when the diſciples of Voltaire, Monteſquieu, and Rouſſeau, in the name of that ſame Equality and Liberty, flock to the club of the Jacobins, there to repeat their ſophiſms againſt Chriſt and his religion, to proſecute their maſonic plots againſt kings, to propagate the blaſphemies of the modern *Spartacus* againſt their God, their king, their country, and all ſocial order; what ſyſtems have we not been obliged to inveſtigate, what artifices to unfold, and into what dark and loathſome receſſes have we not been obliged to penetrate, in order to trace their progreſs! At length we have traced them to their general convention of iniquity and rebellion. Hiſtory will have no further need of my reſearches to demonſtrate all the crimes and diſaſters of the French revolution that have iſſued from this haunt of conſpirators. The hiſtorian needs only turn to the public records, to their own journals, and he will ſee what crimes of the French Revolution are to be attributed to them. I might, therefore, look upon my taſk as accompliſhed.

There is, however, a certain order to be obſerved in the very growth and progreſs of theſe ſcourges. In this aſſociation appears a monſtrous wiſdom, that directs the courſe of the crimes that are ſucceſſively committed and even at appropriate moments. This wiſdom has taught them how to make their leaſt criminal accomplices prepare the way for the blackeſt deeds; it has taught them how to diſcard or deſtroy thoſe agents who, from diſguſt or any other cauſe, ceaſe to be their inſtruments and only become obſtacles. Thus, in the very club of the Jacobins, in the centre of iniquity, there exiſts a progreſſion of wickedneſs. Each Sect has retained its ultimate object, each Conſpirator his paſſions and his private views, juſt as in the Occult Lodges; yet they are all leagued in one common object, in one common meaſure, to overthrow the exiſting government, and erect their Equality and Liberty on the new order of things. But opinions will claſh as to the choice of this new order. All deteſt and hate the God of the Goſpel; but ſome will have a God according to their Philoſophiſm, while the Philoſophiſm of others reject all ideas of a God. La Fayette will have a Doge for a king, ſubject to the laws and

will of a ſovereign people. Philip of Orleans will have no king unleſs it be himſelf. Briſſot will neither ſubmit to Philip as king, nor aſſent to La Fayette's Doge; he wiſhes to exerciſe the magiſtracy of his own democracy. Mirabeau will be content with any plan, provided he be the prime miniſter. Dietrich, Condorcet, Babœuf, and the higher adepts of *Spartacus*, will aſſent to nothing but the *man-king* of Illuminiſm, *every where his own maſter*. Crimes then will be graduated by the myſteries. The grand adepts will be ſeen to make the mere novices act. Private paſſions will ſometimes clog their progreſs; I ſhall, therefore, attempt to point out in what order the French revolution has brought theſe myſteries into action, and apply its ſucceſſive progreſs to the different Sects that had ſo profoundly meditated and conceived it.

CHAP. XII.

Application of the three Conſpiracies to the French Revolution.

Identity of facts and plots;

WHILE I have been unfolding the object and means of ſo many inſidious plots, my reader has, no doubt, made frequent applications to facts that have taken place under his own eyes. He will have ſaid to himſelf, what can be this long chain of crime, deſtruction, and horror, with which the French Revolution has aſtoniſhed all Europe, but the conſequence of the principles and plans of theſe conſpiring Sects! *In darkneſs they were conceived, but in broad day are they executed.* Such may be the ſuccinct hiſtory of the Revolution, now that theſe plots have been laid open. It is ſo evidently demonſtrated, that it would be a uſeleſs labor to deſcend to details; we will alſo paſs over in our narrative thoſe bloody ſcenes which might rather ſerve to tear open wounds ſcarcely cloſed, than convince my reader. I ſhall, therefore, conſider the French Revolution in its preliminary ſteps, and in its ſucceſſive attempts againſt Religion, againſt Monarchy, and againſt Society in general. But a curſory view of theſe attempts will ſuffice for the moſt complete demonſtration.

in the Preliminaries of the Revolution:

Let us revert for a moment to that period when the conſpirators of every claſs were ſtill lurking in their hiding-places. The diſciples of Monteſquieu and Jean Jaques had, ſo early as 1771, declared that men could only regain their primitive rights of *Equality* and *Liberty*, and the people their inpreſcriptible right of *legiſlative ſovereignty* by means of a general aſſembly of national deputies. At that time alſo the ſophiſticated adepts had pronounced, that the grand obſtacle to theſe pretended rights was to be found in the diſtinctions of the three eſtates, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Eſtate.* To obtain, therefore the convocation of the States General, and to annihilate the diſtinction of the three Eſtates, muſt ne-

* See Chap. IV. and VI. in Vol. II. of theſe Memoirs.

ceſſarily have been and really were the firſt ſteps of the Revolution.

The deficit that Necker had left in the public treaſury, the depredations and diſorders of an age deſtitute of morals (becauſe theſe Sophiſters had transformed it into an age of impiety) had reduced a Monarch who ſhone forth unblemiſhed in the midſt of corruption, to ſummon the *Notables* of his kingdom, that they might conſult for the happineſs of his people, which ſeemed to be his only care. The tender with that he has ſhown is immediately ſeized on by the conſpirators, and ſerves as a pretext for them to haſten the convocation of that very aſſembly where all their horrid plots are to be conſummated. Whatever might have been the wiſdom of the *Notables*, their plans are rejected beforehand. Philip of Orleans and his political committees are likewiſe eager for the convocation of the States General. Even the tribunes of the nation will riſe in judgment againſt, and diſcuſs the rights of their Sovereign. Foremoſt among the conſpirators, Philip of Orleans is alſo foremoſt in action. For the firſt time does he pretend to be zealous in the public cauſe; and the firſt act of his zeal is to enter a proteſt againſt the diſpoſitions made by Lewis XVI. to provide for the wants of the ſtate.* In theſe intrigues againſt his Sovereign, he combined with the different magiſtrates who were then noted for their factious behavior, ſuch as DESPREMENIL, at that time infatuated with the viſions of the Martiniſts and revolutionary principles; MONSABERT and SABATIER de CABRES, the moſt ardent enemies of the Court; and FRETEAU, who, in the firſt aſſembly, was to become the worthy aſſociate of the Conſtitutionaliſt CAMUS.—Philip ſo completely miſleads this firſt Parliament of the kingdom, that they at length give the example of a lawful and formal demand for the convocation of the States General. Lewis XVI. ſeeing the general ferment, heſitates; Philip inſtigates the people; pays brigands; and mobs are aſſembled in Paris. The King at length thinks proper to grant the convocation of the States General.—That Sect which was headed by Orleans, now only wants a Miniſter who ſhall direct the convocation according to the views of their conſpiracy; and they turn their eyes on that very man who had hollowed out the abyſs, that

* See the *Sceance Royale* for the Land and Stamp-Tax.

Necker, whoſe perfidious policy had been the ruin of the national treaſury. He was the man of the ambitious courtiers, who led him toward the throne that they themſelves might be drawn nearer to it; the man ſupported by the Princes de Beauveau and de Poix, by the Mareſchal Castries, by the Duc D'Ayen, by Meſſrs. Beſenval and Guibert; the man of the conſpiring courtiers, ſuch as La Fayette and the Lameths; the man of the Sophiſters of Impiety, whoſe plots had been contrived in his own houſe and at the hotel D'Holbach; the man, in ſhort, whoſe buſt was to be carried in bloody and revolutionary triumph by the ſide of that of his worthy co-operator Philip of Orleans.

Lewis XVI. might have known this perfidious miniſter; the whole plan of the conſpiracy contrived by Necker and his adepts of Philoſophiſm had been laid before the King; but, alas! he could not be made to believe that ſuch wickedneſs and hypocriſy was to be found in man. The day came, however, when he ſorrowfully exclaimed, *Why did I not believe it? Eleven years ago was every thing foretold that now befalls me.* It was to Necker that he alluded; for during his firſt miniſtry, was that man and the plots contrived in his houſe, and at the hotel D'Holbach, formally denounced in a memorial preſented to Mr. de Maurepas and to Lewis XVI. But ſince that time, the Conſpirators had ſounded all their trumpets to his fame, and celebrated the ſuppoſed virtues and talents of the Geneveſe traitor. Overpowered by ſuch intrigue, the King was miſled to think that this man would prove the Saviour of the ſtate, and he entruſted him with the convocation of the States General. He was preciſely the man to throw the whole of theſe ſtates into the hands of the Conſpirators.* He knew that their hopes were in the

* I was not ſufficiently acquainted with this man's character, when I placed him on the ſame line with Turgot and Malesherbes.—Let this artful and ambitious intriguer be judged by his own words:—*A hundred thouſand crowns for you if you will make me* Controller General.—*I am rich, but cannot boaſt of birth: money then muſt ſupply the defect of anceſtry.—If one is poſſeſſed of money, it is not to be ſpared when it can ſerve one's ambition.—You talk to me of the people: they may be uſeful to me, and I will make a tool of them; they cannot hurt us, and I will play upon them.—As to religion, we muſt have one for the people; but not their Chriſtianity; we will deſtroy that.* . . . . . Let Necker come to enquire on what occaſions, or to whom he

multitude, and that the distinction of, and voting by estates, would prove an obstacle to their views against the Sovereign. He farther saw, that the spirit of sedition predominated in the third estate, that they were becoming the revolutionary organs of the Conspirators; and, to ensure the majority of votes to them, he doubled the number of the deputies to be sent to the third estate. Confident in their numbers, they immediately declare themselves, though alone, to constitute the *National Assembly*. In vain did the clergy and the nobility insist on that right (of far more consequence to the state than to themselves) of deliberating separately, and thus counterpoising the deliberations that might have been too hastily entered upon or guided by passion, interest, or the factious pretensions of party men. In vain did the clergy and nobility sacrifice all exclusive privileges or pecuniary advantages in taxation which they enjoyed, in hopes of preserving their rights in deliberation; for the privilege that Necker* and the other Con-

held this monstrous language, and I will begin by naming the person who received the hundred thousand crowns for having procured him the post of *Controller General;* I will in the next place tell him, that he held such language to the Lady who had the courage to upbraid him with it to his face, and in the midst of all his glory; to her whom he reproached with shedding tears over her murdered brother, while she taxed him with his murder, because he feared her brother would betray his secret; to that person who refused to enroll herself in that cohort of flatterers that were to open the way for him, by thousands of calumnious accusations, invented by himself and by his emissaries, against persons holding stations that he coveted for himself or his adherents, and which his partizans forwarded to the unfortunate Lewis XVI; to that person thro' whose medium he wished to persuade the King that *M. de Sartine* had stolen twenty-two millions out of fifty-three entrusted to him, though the minister needed only to be informed of the plot to shew the falsity of the imputation: in fine, to that person whom he courted as necessary for his intrigues, who discovered him to be a monster, and who laid open all his plots and iniquities to M. de Maurepas and Lewis XVI. Let him learn, that if his secret crimes are to have a place in history, the proofs of all these are not yet lost.

* In order to second the views of her worthy father in this warfare on the distinction of estates, while he was intriguing at the palace, Madam de Stael was playing the same part in Paris. She had established at her house a sort of Office of Inscription. La Fayette and the Lameths would bring the traitors to her table; and the names of those dastards, who would pro-

ſpirators aimed at, was that power of counteracting all reſolutions detrimental to religion or monarchy. It was in vain that Lewis XVI. with the tenderneſs rather of a father than of a king, made thoſe ſacrifices (which of themſelves might be called a revolution, ſo much did they curtail his royal prerogative) in his Declaration of the 23d of June. But this was not the ſpecies of revolution ſought by the Conſpirators. The ſophiſters had determined, that, to make their Equality and Liberty triumph, it was neceſſary to deliberate by *perſons* and not by *eſtates*; that the Nobility and Clergy ſhould be confounded among the multitude; and that the majority, when deliberating by eſtates, ſhould prove a minority when united with the great numbers of the third eſtate. Lewis XVI. orders, that in virtue of the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom, the ancient form of deliberating by eſtates ſhould be preſerved; but his orders are vain; the Conſpirators proteſt againſt them; their preſident, BAILLY, calls them to a tennis-court, and there they ſwear to impoſe a conſtitution on France congenial to their views. They immediately ſet their brigands in motion; the venerable Archbiſhop of Paris is nearly ſtoned to death; the life of the Monarch is threatened; the fatal union of the three eſtates at length takes place, which ſubjects the two firſt eſtates to the will of the multitude; for the Conſpirators were certain of the ſupport of all thoſe apoſtates and daſtards, who, by their intrigues, had been returned among the deputies of the Nobility and Clergy, becauſe Necker had doubled the number of the deputies of the third eſtate, to enſure the majority of the votes in favor of the decrees which the party were to propoſe. He had organized the States General according to the views and wiſhes of the ſophiſters; he may, it is true, whimper and weep over the diſaſters and crimes of the Revolution; but the hand of time ſhall engrave on his tomb, that *he was the grand agent of them all.*

Having no farther oppoſition to fear, and certain of paſſing whatever decrees they choſe, theſe Conſpirators proceed to declare themſelves *a National Aſſembly*. They arrogate to themſelves the right of making and of pronouncing the law. The ſecrets of the Lodges conſtitute the baſis of the Revolution under the title of *the Rights*

miſe to abandon their Order and paſs over to the Third Eſtate, were immediately inſcribed on her liſt.

of Man. The firſt article declares *man to be equal and free*; that *the principle of all ſovereignty eſſentially reſides in the people*; and that *law* is nothing more than *the expreſſion of the general will.* Such had been for nearly half a century the doctrines of Argenſon, Monteſquieu, Rouſſeau, and Voltaire. Theſe principles of pride and revolt had long ſince been the ground-work of the myſteries of every claſs of Sophiſter, Occult Maſon, or Illuminee; and now they decorate the title-page of the revolutionary code.

This equal, free, ſovereign, and legiſlative people, may will that their religion ſhould be preſerved in all its integrity; and that its monarch ſhould be entruſted with the neceſſary power to cruſh ſedition and rebellion. Veneration for the altar and affection for their prince ſtill glowed in the heart of the French. But the Conſpirators wanted an armed force, drawn from the body of that ſame people, docile, and ſubſervient to the views of the Sect, and that would oppoſe the will of the people whenever it did not coincide with theirs. This force was entirely to overpower the army of the ſovereign. Every thing had been foreſeen; for the ſophiſters had long ſince ſaid,—— "Oh that we could but once get rid of theſe foreign mi- "litary hirelings! An army of natives might be gained "to the ſide of Liberty, at leaſt a part of them; but fo- "reign troops are kept on foot for this very reaſon."*— Their army of natives is immediately formed, and it is again from the dark receſſes of Maſonry that the ſignal is

* See the letter attributed to Monteſquieu.—In Vol. II. P. 94, on the teſtimony of the Abbé Pointe, I quoted a letter attributed to Monteſquieu by an Engliſh journaliſt, but could not name the paper. It has ſince been diſcovered in the *Courier*, or *Evening Gazette*, of Auguſt 4, 1795. It is there ſaid that Monteſquieu wrote it, a few years before his death, to a preſident of one of the Parliaments of France. I could wiſh to have ſeen the perſon named to whom it was written, or in whoſe poſſeſſion it is at preſent, for it is of a complexion to change our ideas very much as to the moderation of that writer. It would immediately claſs him among the conſpiring ſophiſters; and, to paſs ſuch a ſentence on this author, the cleareſt proofs ſhould be required. But it appears, whoever was the author of that letter, that he was far advanced in the plots of the Sect, for he very accurately deſcribes the conduct of the Jacobins with reſpect to the foreign troops in the French ſervice: neither does he appear to be ignorant of the plan for ſeparating Ireland from England.

given. That fame Savalette de Lange who preſided over the ſecret committee of the *Amis réunis*, and over the correſpondence, appeared before the Municipality of Paris, and ſpoke to the following effect: "*Gentlemen, I am a* "*Corporal.* Here are citizens to whom I have taught the "uſe of arms, that they might defend the country. I did "not create myſelf a major or a general, *we are all equal*, "I am ſimply a Corporal; but I alſo gave the example; "command that every citizen ſhould follow it.—Let the "nation take arms, and Liberty will be invincible." Savalette, in pronouncing this diſcourſe, preſented ſeven or eight brigands accoutred as ſoldiers. The ſight of theſe few men, and the repeated cries of *Let us ſave the nation!* excited enthuſiaſm:—An immenſe mob ſurrounded the Town-hall, and Savalette's motion was inſtantaneouſly decreed. The very next day the Pariſian army is ſet on foot, and millions are formed into *Native Battalions* throughout the empire.* They are the ſworn agents of the Conſpirators; and it is now time that the unfortunate Lewis XVI. ſhould feel their power. He had driven from his perſon the treacherous Necker; but the Sect ſtill wanted his ſervices, and it forces the Monarch to recal him.—The King heſitates at ſanctioning the Rights of Man, and the force of the people is immediately put in action.

In ſupport of theſe *rights* all the Conſpirators combine; and it is agreed, that immediately on his return, Necker ſhall ſtarve the people into rebellion; that the brethren

* Many authors have fallen into an error with reſpect to the firſt formation of the National Guards; and they ground their aſſertions on a reſolution of the Committee of Electors, ſent from the town-hall to all the Sections of Paris, ordering the formation of this guard, and ſigned *Fleſſelles*, Taſſin, De Leutre, Fauchet, the Marquis de la Salle; but it is a certain fact, and within the knowledge of every body, 1ſt, That this National Guard was formed only two days after the taking of the Baſtille; and 2dly, That Mr. Fleſſelles was murdered on the day of the taking of the Baſtille. But a fact little known is, that the minutes of this reſolution, as alſo the minutes of all tranſactions that took place at the town-hall during the firſt year of the revolution, were not compiled till the ſecond year, by a man of the name of *Verrier*, and by the orders of La Fayette, who, notwithſtanding many obſervations made on the ſubject, would not allow any change to be made in what had been inſerted by his orders, and would have been particularly grieved to ſee the real origin of that National Guard made public, in the command of which he ſo much gloried.

ſhall collect all the harpies of the ſuburbs to go and demand bread of Lewis XVI; that Bailly and his aſſeſſors, ſeated at the Municipality, ſhall order the *legions of natives* to follow and ſupport them; that La Fayette at the head of theſe legions ſhould march to Verſailles; that he ſhould ſurround Lewis XVI. with theſe bands under pretence of watching for his ſafety, *and then retire to ſleep*. Mirabeau, Petion, and Chapellier, Monteſquieu, and Duport, Charles Lameth, and Laclos, Sillery, and D'Aiguillon, will then inform the Aſſembly that *victims muſt be thrown to the people*,* and they avail themſelves of the darkneſs of the night to inflame the populace and excite the ſoldiery. Their hearts were already as hideous as the furies: They now aſſume their *coſtume*, to lead their harpies on to the commiſſion of crime.† D'Orleans will ply his monſters with the beverage of rage and frenzy, and will point out the Queen as the firſt victim to be immolated. Syeyes, Gregoire, and a multitude of other Conſpirators, ſtand ſpectators of the conteſt; but, ſhould the Monarch fall in the affray, they will tender the crown to Orleans, as they may be certain of parcelling out its prerogative according to their Equality and Liberty. Necker abſconds, but his *virtuous ſpouſe*, decorated with her noſegays, and accompanied by her inſeparable companion the Mareſchale de Beauveau, will appear in the galleries of Verſailles, in the midſt of the carnage, and virtuouſly exclaim, *Let the good people act, there is no danger:* and, in fact, ſhe had none to fear; ſhe had already written to her brother *Germani*, "*Patience; every thing will go* "*well; we can neither ſpeak nor write.*"‡

The night from the 5th to the 6th of October reveals the ſecrets which this worthy confidant dared to write.—Hiſtory needs not our labors to paint the horrors of that awful night; they are deſcribed in the juridical depoſitions taken by the magiſtrates of the Chatelet. Orleans loſt courage at the ſight of a few faithful Life-guards, the only adherents of the King that La Fayette had permitted to remain near his perſon; and never was a more heroic phalanx formed than by theſe brave men round their roy-

* See the Sitting of the 5th October, 1789.

† See the juridical depoſitions of witneſſes, 157, 226, 230, and 373.

‡ See her letter of the 5th October, 1789.

al maſter and his conſort. Though their courage was appalled by the orders of their Sovereign, they were ſtill prodigal of their own blood; they reſiſted a foreſt of pikes,* and Orleans could not conſummate his premeditated crime. Day-light arrives to expoſe the horrors of this night; the brigands, his inſtruments, are ſeen to bluſh, and the National Guards at length reflect that they are Frenchmen. They emit no other wiſh than to ſee Lewis XVI. living in the midſt of them at Paris in the palace of his forefathers. The unfortunate Monarch knows not what men had profited of the natural effuſions of loyalty of his people to make them emit this wiſh. He thought that he was entruſting himſelf to the affections of his people, when he was only obeying the dictates of the Conſpirators. He knows not that it is the laſt ſhift of the Conſpirators, that the crimes of this horrid night might not be entirely fruitleſs. The great difficulty they had found in making the Monarch ſanction the *rights of man*, made them perceive that they would frequently ſtand in need of the ſame brigands to force his acquieſcence to

* The 6th of October, 1789, was the laſt day of the French Monarchy.—Should it ever riſe again, let a monument be erected in memory of thoſe brave Knights who would have ſo glorioufly contributed to ſave it, had not their courage been chained down by the commands of their King. May their names be at leaſt preſerved by the hiſtorian! I could wiſh to inſert the names of the ſixty heroes who ſo well deſerved the appellation of *Life-guards* on this awful occaſion; but I have only been able to obtain the following:

OFFICERS.

Duke de Guiche, *Captain.*
Marquis de Savonnière, *Chef de Brigade.*
Vicomte D'Agoult.
Vicomte de Seſmaiſons.
Comte de Mauleon.
Chev. Dampierre.
—— St. George.

LIFE GUARDS.

Meſſrs. de Berard, *two Brothers.*
Chev. de Huilliers.
Marquis de Varicourt, *killed.*
Chev. Deſhutes, *killed.*
—— de Moimandre.
Baron Durepaire.
—— Demiers.
—— Moucheron.
Chev. de la Tranchade.
—— de Duret.
—— de Valory.
Comte de Mouthier.
—— Bernady.
Meſſrs. Horric, *three Brothers.*
Meſſ. Malderet, *three Brothers.*
Chev. Renaldy.
—— de Lamotte.
—— de Montaut.
—— de Puget.

thoſe future decrees which were to be grounded on them. All the decrees that were in ſucceſſion to annihilate religion and monarchy were to be enforced by an inſurrection, and the pikes and lantern-poſts were to be in perpetual requiſition, to conſtrain the votes, to intimidate the Monarch, and diſcard all reclamation. In future a captive in Paris, Lewis XVI. will be perpetually menaced by the brigands iſſuing from the ſuburbs or from the quarries, and paid by Necker or Orleans. La Fayette will proclaim, that *inſurrection is a moſt ſacred duty*, and inſurrection will become the ſtanding order of the day;—Mirabeau, Barnave, Chapellier, will point out the object and fix the hour: Orders will be ſent from their anti-chambers to the Jacobins and the ſuburbs, and daily, at the hour fixed, will the King, the Clergy, the Nobility, and all who may oppoſe the decrees in debate, find themſelves ſurrounded by a mob that will hoot or act exactly according to the inſtructions given by the conſpirators.*

Though they reaped no farther benefit from all the horrid deeds of the fifth and ſixth of October, yet the conſpirators knew but too well how to appreciate their ſucceſſes. Madame Necker writes again to her brother Germani: "We are content, every thing went on well. The ariſto-"cracy would have had the uppermoſt, and we were oblig-"ed to make uſe of the rabble."† Here terminate what may be called the preliminaries of the revolution. Necker had moulded the National Aſſembly according to the views of the Sect, and had eſtabliſhed it in the town that was judged moſt proper for enabling him to work the premeditated revolution. We next proceed to the plan traced by the Sophiſters for *cruſhing* the pretended *wretch*; and here begins the war waged againſt the God of Chriſtianity.

* Some of the brigands who were in conſtant pay for the purpoſe of theſe inſurrections were retiring home between ten and eleven at night, and I heard them take leave of each other in the following terms: "It has gone on pretty well to-day; "good bye; we ſhall expect you to-morrow.—What, to-mor-"row? at what o'clock?—at the opening of the aſſembly.—— "*Where do we go for orders?* To Mirabeau's, Chapellier's, or "Barnave's, as uſual."—I own, that till I was preſent at this diſcourſe I never could believe that thoſe legiſlators had daily interviews with theſe brigands to fix the hour and object of ſuch inſurrections.

† Letter 8th of October.

To deſtroy religious orders; to deprive the miniſters of the church of their ſubſiſtence under pretence of *the wants of the ſtate*; *ſilently to ſap the edifice*, then to employ *ſuperior force*, and at length to call in the *Herculeſes* and the *Bellerophons:* Such (it has been ſhown) were the means combined by the Sophiſters to overturn and annihilate the altars of Chriſtianity. To ſubſtitute the worſhip of the *great architect* of the univerſe to that of Chriſt; the *light* of the lodges to the doctrines of the goſpel; the god of their pretended *reaſon* to the God of revelation: Such were the moſt moderate of the myſteries of the occult Lodges of Maſonry. To invent and ſubſtitute new religions in place of Chriſtianity, and to impoſe them on the people till every religious principle could be eradicated: In the name of Equality and Liberty to render themſelves *powerful* and *formidable*; then to *tie the hands*, *ſubjugate*, and *ſmother in the germ*, every thing that could counteract the empire of impiety and atheiſm: Such were the views and plots of the *Epopt*, *Regent*, and *Magus* of Illuminiſm. This code and their oaths have been laid open to our readers; and of all theſe horrid plots what particle has the revolution left incomplete?

In the decrees againſt religion by the firſt aſſembly.

Religious vows were immediately ſuſpended and ſoon aboliſhed; the clergy were pillaged of their property, and all the poſſeſſions of the church were converted into a fund for the ſecurity of the aſſignats; the ſacred veſſels were ſtolen and prophaned; the churches were not only robbed of their gold and ſilver, but the very braſs and metal of the bells were carried away.* All this however is but a firſt eſſay of that war which the revolution is to wage againſt the Church. Still had the Church preſerved its faith, its real treaſure, pure and untarniſhed; but it is at that very treaſure that Mirabeau will aim his blows. He declared, that if the Catholic religion were not deſtroyed in France, the revolution could never be conſolidated.—Immediately after this deciſion a code is formed for the clergy, of a long ſuite of decrees, and it is ſtiled the *civil conſtitution* of the clergy. But it was merely a conſtitution of ſchiſm and apoſtacy. This was no more than the firſt religion, invented as the ſtepping-ſtone that ſhould lead the people to a nullity of all religion. Grounded on

* Decrees of October 25, November 2, December 19, 1789; and February 13, 1790.

the principles of Revolutionary Equality and Liberty, it conſtitutes the people ſovereigns in the ſanctuary, juſt as thoſe ſame principles had conſtituted them ſovereigns around the throne; it endows the people with rights that the goſpel has reſerved to the miniſtry; it was no more than a repetition of thoſe errors of Camus, of the apoſtate of Ypres, and of the ſchiſm of Utrecht, long ſince anathematized. Notwithſtanding the diſguiſe it had aſſumed, the clergy of France ſoon diſcovered its real tendency, and at the peril of their lives they refuſed to take the oath of apoſtacy. The faithful paſtors were expelled from their ſees and churches, perſecuted, calumniated, and reviled in the groſſeſt manner; for the legiſlating committee had ſaid to the people, *Dare every thing againſt the Clergy; you ſhall be ſupported.* Soon is the national worſhip converted into that of perjury and intruſion, for the true prieſts of Chriſt are driven from his altars; at Niſmes and Avignon they are ſlaughtered; and the man who had ſworn *to cruſh* Chriſt and his altars, who had declared his goſpel to be a goſpel of ſlaves, together with him who had begun the revolution by declaring that France muſt be *diſcatholized, (decatholiſée)* are carried in triumph to one of the moſt magnificent temples of the Lord, now converted into a den of thieves, into the pantheon of the gods of the revolution, in ſhort, into the burial place of a Voltaire, a Jean Jaques, Rouſſeau, or a Mirabeau.* Such were the labors of the firſt revolutionary legiſlators.

by the ſecond aſſembly;

A new ſet of legiſlators ſucceed to the firſt, and proſecute ſimilar plots againſt the prieſthood. New oaths are decreed, which ſhow in a ſtill clearer light that apoſtacy is their object. The conſtancy of the clergy exaſperates them. The apoſtates repreſent their brethren as refractory to the laws, and decrees of baniſhment are paſſed againſt thoſe who would not ſwear to their abominations.† But theſe decrees are only a ſignal given for the brigands to execute that which theſe conſpiring legiſlators dared not publicly ordain. Their municipalities had taken the precaution to ſtow into different churches vaſt numbers of theſe valiant confeſſors of their faith, theſe clergy who

* See the ſittings of April 10, Auguſt 24, 1790; and January 4, April 4, May 30, Auguſt 27, 1791.

† Decrees November 29, 1791; and April 6, May 26, Auguſt 26, 1792.

were to be baniſhed. The brigands are then let looſe, armed with pikes and hatchets, and the *Herculeſes* and *Bellerophons* of the bloody September make their appearance; this is alſo the day on which thoſe *avengers of Abiram* came forward, thoſe men who in the occult Lodges had been taught to ſtrike the victims, to tear out the heart, and bear away in triumph the heads of thoſe proſcribed perſons ſtyled prophane. When the hiſtorian ſhall proceed to paint the horrors of thoſe bloody days, let him not forget the oaths of the *Knights Kadoſch*, and at whom they were aimed. Let him follow into the Lodges thoſe brigands that Philip of Orleans had initiated, and his aſtoniſhment will be greatly abated at the ſight of ſo many pontiffs and prieſts immolated on the ſame day, to the hatred of the adepts, and to the manes of their premier chief.*

Contrary to the expectations of the conſpirators, the people of the provinces refuſed to imitate the brigands of Paris; and thus did whole hecatombs of victims eſcape the fate to which they had been devoted. It was in vain that the municipality of Paris invited *all France* to ſeek its ſafety in the death of ſo many prieſts alledged to be refractory.† In vain did Lafitte, and the other commiſſaries

* I am ſorry to ſay it, but it is a fact that cannot be hidden: honeſt maſons will ſhudder at it, but they muſt be informed of what monſters have iſſued from their Lodges. During the whole of the riots, whether at the Town-hall or at the Carmes, the real ſigns for rallying and fraternizing with the brigands were maſonic. During the time of the butchery the murderers offered the maſonic grip to the ſtanders-by, and fraternized with or drove them off according as they anſwered or miſapprehended it. I myſelf ſaw a man of the loweſt rabble who explained to me how they had offered him their hands, and that not knowing how to anſwer the *grip* he was driven away with contempt, while others who were not ſtrangers to the ſcience were admitted in the midſt of the carnage, with a ſmile. I am even acquainted with a clergyman, who, by means of the ſigns of maſonry, eſcaped from the brigands at the Town-hall. It is true, that had he not been diſguiſed, his ſcience would have been but of little avail; for no ſooner were thoſe ſame brigands informed that he was an eccleſiaſtic, than they purſued him. Neither could the ſcience be of any ſervice to the ariſtocratic brethren; and this preclufion will ſuffice to demonſtrate to the eccleſiaſtic and ariſtocratic members, that they were but the mere dupes of the occult Lodges of the fraternity.

† The addreſs of the 2d September, 1792.

of the conſpiring legiſlators, range throughout the towns, and the country, declaring that the true ſpirit of the decrees meant the death and not the baniſhment of theſe prieſts; the people were not yet ripe for ſuch atrocities. It was executioners that were wanting to the conſpirators, and not the good will of the ſecond aſſembly; but it is alſo true, that from that inſtant they no longer had it in their power to conſummate that which the firſt aſſembly had begun. The former legiſlators had ruined and driven the clergy from the altar; the latter had made a hecatomb of them; and it was in vociferating curſes on thoſe who fled to other nations, that they beheld them baffling their rage, and ſubmitting to exile rather than deny the faith of their divine maſter.

by the third aſſembly;

Hitherto, however, different pretences had concealed the real motives of their perſecutions againſt the paſtors of the church. The Roman Catholics, indeed, could no longer exerciſe their religion in France; but the *conſtitutional intruders*, and the diſciples of Luther and Calvin, ſtill continued to pronounce the name of Chriſt in their temples. The third aſſembly now throws off the maſk. The Hierophants of Illuminiſm had declared in their myſteries, that a day would come when *reaſon would be the ſole code of man*. The adept HEBERT appears with this code, and France recogniſes no other worſhip but that of *reaſon*. It is at once the religion of the Sophiſter, whoſe *reaſon* tells him that there is a God, as well as of him whoſe *reaſon* tells him that there is no God; it is the religion of the Sophiſter adoring himſelf, his own reaſon, or his ſuppoſed wiſdom; as it is that of the vain mortal in delirium; nevertheleſs, this is the only worſhip tolerated by the Jacobin *equal* and *free*. The wanton devotees of Venus appear; one is immediately ſet up on the altar and adored as the Goddeſs of Reaſon; and the fumes of incenſe no longer riſe but in her worſhip. The inſatiable Guillotine will now devour whatever part of the clergy had hitherto eſcaped. The time is now come *for ſtifling in the germ* every thing that can recal to mind the goſpel, the God of Chriſtians, his feaſts, or thoſe of his ſaints.—They are now proſcribed, and are no longer to be ſeen on the calendars publiſhed for the people; thus aſſimilating them to thoſe that had long ſince been in uſe with the Sect. The very order of the weeks, the months, the year, is overturned. The great day of the Lord, the Sunday,

is abolished, for it recalled to the minds of the people the existence of a God and of a Creator; but least the people should still fear the power of an avenging God after death, they will read engraved on the tombs of their forefathers, and on those even into which they are to descend themselves, that *death is only an eternal sleep*; and this was one of the grand mysteries. The few priests who remained, and who still adored an avenging God and a Creator, were either to abjure the very character of the ancient priesthood, or perish, stowed up in loathsome dungeons, beneath the fatal axe of the guillotine, or immersed in the waters of the Loire, or of the ocean. Such was the reign of the conspirators Hebert and Robespierre.

The tyrants quarrel among themselves and devour each other; and even the revolution may be said to have its revolutions. Impiety, for a time, assumes a different shape, but does not relent in its persecution against the gospel and the priesthood. One might have been tempted to think that it was returning on its own footsteps, for the people would still adore a God, notwithstanding this new reign of *Reason*; and Robespierre allows them, for a time, *a supreme being*. Next comes REVEILLERE-LEPAUX with his *Theophilanthropic* worship. This was the fourth religion invented by the Sect. It is another tyrant of Israel erecting a golden calf, to hinder the people from adoring the true God. It is the *Magi* of Illuminism inventing religion after religion, and god after god, in hopes of disgusting the people with every idea of a god. They, indeed, allow this unfortunate people to pronounce his name again; but let us proceed to this *Theophilanthropic* meeting. There every person who still believes in God is treated as a man imbued with vulgar prejudices, as a fool or a madman. There they make no farther mystery of their designs, that if ever they can infuse their philosophic spirit into the people, all this new worship shall be banished as was the former.* It is always the worship of cunning and impious rage against the priesthood of the Lord. The Sect appears for a time to have cast aside the instruments of death; but it is only to condemn its victims to a more slow and cruel end. It never ceases to pro-

* This is the exact statement of an account that I received from a gentleman who procured initiation into the mysteries of the present *Theophilanthropists* of Paris.

claim its oaths of Equality and Liberty;† thoſe *two bleſſings of the revolution*, however, can only be acquired for the prieſthood by perjury and apoſtacy. But wo be to thoſe who refuſe it; in vain does the citizen offer them an aſylum in his houſe, domiciliary viſits will ſoon diſcover them. —Do they retire into the foreſts, into caverns, they are hunted down and baniſhed to the wilderneſſes of Guyana; and pilots more to be feared than the tempeſt are ſent to convey them.

Thus do all the different plots of the Sophiſters of Impiety, which had been ſo long a time contriving in darkneſs, burſt forth into broad day-light, the object of their myſteries is accompliſhed; that wiſh, that oath of *cruſhing Chriſt* and his religion, with its miniſters, is conſummated. But the reader has not forgotten, that the Sophiſters of Rebellion coaleſced with thoſe of Impiety. The adepts had alſo ſworn to cruſh the monarch and his throne; here again my reader muſt have got the ſtart of me, and will immediately ſay, "but the revolution has alſo conſummated their plots againſt the throne, as it has thoſe "againſt Chriſt and his altars."

In the decrees againſt monarchy;

Here again muſt the hiſtorian wade through ſcenes of blood and horror, and his ſight will be blaſted by the moſt atrocious crimes. If he has the ſtrength and patience he may enumerate them; but, at the ſame time, let him never loſe ſight of the Sect that has foſtered them. Let him follow its progreſs; agents may vary, conſpirators may ſucceed each other in the legiſlative hall, but they will all proceed from one common den wherein the adepts have contrived their plots. The thread of this horrid catastrophe will always be the ſame, though held in ſucceſſion by different hands. Equality and Liberty will always be the principle, and the conſequences will always ſtrike at the monarch and monarchy, as they have done againſt Chriſt and his religion. In this revolution of Equality and Liberty, crimes againſt the church, and crimes againſt the ſtate are entwined together; to-day the church, to-morrow the ſovereign, the day after proprietors are attacked, and this continues in a long concatenation which always takes its riſe, as from its centre, in the club of the Jacobins, in the reunion of every ſpecies of conſpiring adept. Their firſt conſpiring legiſlators, ſuch as Mirabeau,

† Decree January 10, 1796.

Syeyes, Barnave, Orleans, La Fayette, Lameth, Chabroud, Gregoire, Petion, Bailly, Rabaud, Chapellier, and all the deputies of the Mountain, habitually paſs from the tribune of the Jacobins to that of the manege. There a firſt conſtitution was prepared, that was to overwhelm the throne as it had done the altar; that was to weaken Lewis XVI. and ſtrip him not only of his authority, but alſo of the affection of his ſubjects; that was to take from him the command of the army, and deprive him of the ſupport of his nobility; that was, in ſhort, to rob him daily of ſome part of that authority which conſtitutes the monarch. Two years were ſpent in diſſeminating calumnies, in ſtirring up the people, or in paſſing decrees as derogatory to royalty as they were injurious to religion. This legiſlative rout had formed a code of laws againſt the church, that was to leave but the name of religion to the French nation; from the ſame clamorous multitude are iſſued laws againſt monarchy, that reduced the unfortunate Lewis XVI. to a mere cypher; a captive in his palace, ſurrounded by brigands, he is forced, as the clergy had been, to ſanction thoſe very decrees that deſpoiled him; the clergy had pleaded the duties of the prieſthood in oppoſition to the decrees; the king ſets forth the duties of the monarch; he claims, as they had done, his liberty, and for a moment thinks he has obtained it by his flight to Varennes. But the traitor* La Fayette ſoon diſpelled the

* Leſt public documents ſhould not be ſufficiently explanatory of the conduct of La Fayette on this occaſion, and as ſeveral perſons have wiſhed to perſuade the public that he was perfectly ignorant of the intended flight of the king, I here publiſh a true ſtatement of facts.—A German woman, married to a Frenchman of the name of *Rochereuil*, was employed in the queen's ſervice under the title of *Porte chaiſe d'affaires*.—This woman had ſhown ſo much indignation, and had wept ſo bitterly on the 5th and 6th of October, that the queen, affected at ſeeing ſuch proofs of attachment in this woman, entruſted her with the care of preparing her broth, and lodged her in a room on the ground-floor of her own apartment, which communicated to the apartment that had been occupied by the Duke of Villequier. In the beginning of June, the queen, who began to prepare for her intended evaſion, lodged this Mrs. Rochereuil in another room. She immediately harbored ſuſpicions of ſome intended plan, and watched the king and queen. The great confidence they both had in her gave her the opportunity of knowing the whole ſcheme of the king's flight. On

illuſion, and only permitted him to enjoy it for an inſtant, that he might drag his royal maſter back to the capital expoſed to every outrage, there to keep him a cloſer priſoner. Lewis, a priſoner, at length ſanctions this conſtitution of Equality and Liberty; he ſtill bears the title of king, when a new band of ruffians or legiſlative adepts make their appearance to form the ſecond National Aſſembly.

by the ſecond aſſembly;

The ſecond aſſembly finds Lewis a captive in his palace; and they proceed in the wicked career of their predeceſſors. Each ſitting gave birth to new decrees more and more derogatory to the authority of the monarch; daily were the people ſtirred up to inſurrection againſt the altar and the throne. At length the day drew near when both were to fall beneath their blows. The long liſt of clergy that were to be immolated had been already formed by the Jacobin municipality, and the Jacobin legiſlators ſurround the palace of Lewis with legions of brigands. He is reduced to ſeek an aſylum in the midſt of that very aſſembly that had ſent this mob of miſcreants a-

the 10th of June ſhe informed Meſſrs. La Fayette and Gouvion of what ſhe had obſerved, and lodged an information at the *Comité des Recherches* of the National Aſſembly. She had eleven conferences with them in the ſpace of nine days. In conſequence of theſe denunciations, M. de la Fayette charged thirteen officers on whom he could depend, to patrole every night within the interior of the Thuilleries, but with ſecret orders to favor the evaſion. His orders had been given in a ſimilar manner along the road. Drouet had been inſtructed in the part he was to act. The remaining part of that fatal journey to Varennes, and the arreſtation of the king, may be all eaſily conceived, excepting that exceſs of inſolence with which La Fayette uſed his victory, and the outrages he heaped on the unfortunate Lewis, when dragging him back to his priſon of the Thuilleries.

Another anecdote that may ſurprize the reader is, that when the queen had been informed of the treacherous behavior of this woman, Rochereuil, and had diſmiſſed the traitor from her ſervice, this wretch had the inſolence to preſent a memorial, that a deputy had penned for her, to the queen, requeſting that ſhe might be admitted again into her ſervice, and ſtating that in her opinion ſhe could not have given her majeſty a greater proof of her gratitude and fidelity than by depriving her of the poſſibility of hearkening to the evil councils of the royaliſts.—The queen gave the memorial to *Mr. Prieur*, the hiſtoriographer of France for the foreign department. The denunciation of this woman is carefully preſerved in what are ſtyled the National Archives.

gainſt him; they pronounce his ſuſpenſion, as according to the new forms they would have encroached on the ſovereignty of the people in pronouncing the abolition of royalty; but leſt he ſhould miſtake the nature of his crime, they proclaim the new æra and the new oath of *Equality* and *Liberty*, both of which are to date from this day.—They then decree the convocation of a new aſſembly which is to pronounce definitively on the fate of the monarch. All theſe decrees are paſſed in his preſence; for they had barbarouſly ſhut up him and his family in a tribune appropriated to the writers of a Newſpaper, leſt he ſhould loſe a ſingle word of the outrages and calumnies vented againſt his perſon, or of the laws pronounced for the annihilation of the throne. But his death had been already reſolved; meanwhile he is ſent to the towers of the Temple to await his cruel deſtiny.*

Conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt.

I ſhould be little inclined to inſiſt on the atrocious feats that ſignalized theſe horrid triumphs of the ſecond aſſembly, or on the arts employed to prepare them, were it not that the true thread of ſuch a multitude of crimes has not been properly diſcovered. The whole was contrived by Briſſot. The Sect, it is true, furniſhed him with agents, but he was conſtantly the chief of the conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt. During a whole year he was employed in preparing it; he had conceived it even before he was named a legiſlator. Initiated in all the myſteries of Holbach's club, and even contending with Condorcet for the precedency among the Voltairian Sophiſters, no ſooner was he deputed to the grand aſſembly, than he thought himſelf called to fulfil the decree which he had long ſince pronounced, *That the ſceptre of the Bourbons ſhould be ſhivered, and France be transformed into a republic.*†—

* Sittings of Auguſt 10, 11, and 12, 1792.

† Lewis XVI. was but a child when Sir Horace Walpole, (ſince Lord Orford,) after a ſhort ſtay at Paris, wrote the following letter to Mareſchal Conway on the views and plans of the Sophiſters. It is dated October 28, 1765.

"The Dauphin (father to Lewis XVI.) will probably hold "out very few days. His death, that is, the near proſpect of "it, fills *the Philoſophers* with the greateſt joy, as it was fear"ed he would endeavor the reſtoration of the Jeſuits. You "will think the ſentiments of *the Philoſophers* very odd *ſtate*"news.—But do you know what *the Philoſophers* are, or what "the term means here? In the firſt place, it comprehends al"moſt every body; and in the next means men, who, avowing

Scarcely was he ſeated among theſe new legiſlators when he caſt his eyes around him in queſt of adepts who might co-operate in hurling from his throne that unfortunate monarch, whoſe power the preceding aſſembly had reduced to a mere phantom. He ſoon perceived that ſame hatred to royalty raging in the breaſts of a Petion, a Buzot, a Vergniaux, a Gaudet, a Genſonné, or a Louvet, and to them he opened his plans.

According to the plan contrived by the conſpirators, we ſhall ſee that France was in the firſt place to be inundated with journals, all ſtimulating the people to complete the grand work of their liberty. By dint of libels and moſt odious calumnies againſt Lewis XVI. and his queen; they were to eradicate every ſentiment of affection from the heart of the ſubject. They next bethought themſelves of ſtirring up the foreign powers, that Lewis XVI. being engaged in war without, might fall an eaſier prey to intrigue within. We next hear the club reſounding with that very ſentence which Briſſot afterwards writes to the generals of *his* revolution: *Europe muſt be ſet on fire at the four corners; in that our ſafety lies.** By means of their adepts and clubs they were perpetually exciting the people to inſurrection, in order to caſt the odium on the king and queen. Under pretence of taking meaſures againſt theſe frequent inſurrections, and to ward off the danger to which they expoſed France, they formed in the National Aſſembly a ſecret committee under the title of *extraordinary commiſſion*, and which was the head of the faction ſince called the *Girondins*, from the department

" war againſt poperv, aim, many of them, *at a ſubverſion of* " *all religion, and ſtill many more at the deſtruction of regal* " *power* —How do you know this? you will ſay: you, who " have been but ſix weeks in France, three of which you have " been confined in your chamber.—True; but in the firſt pe- " riod I went every where, and heard nothing elſe; in the lat- " ter I have been extremely viſited, and have had long and ex- " plicit converſations with many who think as I tell you, and " with a few of the other ſide, who are no leſs perſuaded that " there are ſuch intentions. In particular, I had two officers " here the other night, neither of them young, whom I had " difficulty to keep from a ſerious quarrel, and who, in the heat " of the diſpute, informed me of much more than I could have " learned with great pains." *(Vol. V.)*

* See Mallet Du Pan's Conſiderations on the Nature of the Revolution, P. 37.

of the Gironde, in Gascony. It was there that Brissot, at the head of the Elect, and presiding in the *commission*, prepared, in silence, those decrees that were to consummate the plots against monarchy. He wished to give this revolution an appearance of philosophy, solicited by an enlightened people tired of its kings, and willing to recognize no other sovereign than itself. He sent his emissaries into the provinces; but they all returned, declaring that the French nation was unwilling to sacrifice its king.—He then founded the legislative assembly, and the opinions of the majority also coincided with the wishes of the people.—What he could not accomplish by his sophistry, he now determined to effectuate by means of pikes and his blood-thirsty legions of brigands.—He calls those legions from the South known by the name of *Marseillois*; from the West the Jacobins send up the brigands of Brest; *Barbaroux* and *Panis*, *Carra* and *Beaujois* the intruded vicar of Blois, *Bessé* from the Drome, *Gallissot* from Langres, *Fournier* the West-Indian, General *Westermann*, *Kieulin* from Strasbourg, *Santerre* the brewer, *Antoine* from Metz, and *Gorsas* the journalist, combined with the *Girondins*. They hold their councils sometimes at Robespierre's, at others at the *Soleil d'Or*, (the golden Sun,) a tavern near the Bastille. *Syeyes* and his club of *twenty-two*, or the occult Lodge of the Jacobins, second them with all their might.—*Marat*, *Prudhomme*, and *Millin*, with all the Journalists of the Party, daily invent new calumnies against Lewis and his royal Consort. *Alexandre* and the renegado *Chabot* stir up the suburbs of *St. Antoine* and *St. Marceau*. Philip of Orleans contributes his money and his party, because he is in hopes of being himself exalted to the throne, as soon as Lewis XVI. shall be driven from it; and even though he were not to succeed in obtaining the throne, he will at least have gratified his vengeance.

Every thing is agreed on; the Legions are arrived; at ten minutes before one in the morning the alarm bells ring the prelude to the terrible 10th of August. The second Assembly has now fulfilled its task; Lewis XVI. is declared to be deprived of all right to the crown. He is torn from the palace of his forefathers, and immured within the towers of the Temple. It is there that the third Assembly of Legislators is to find him, and are to lead him from thence to the scaffold to fulfil the oaths of the Occult Lodges.

Should the hiſtorian heſitate at recognizing this progreſſion of the Sect, to conduct us to the terrible catastrophe of the 10th of Auguſt, let him turn to the avowals of the adepts themſelves.—The day is come when they envy each other the commiſſion of ſuch crimes; they had inſtalled Briſſot the leader of the Jacobins; but Robeſpierre, Marat, and Danton ſnatch the ſceptre from him; he wiſhes to wreſt it from them again; and he publiſhes an addreſs to all the Jacobins of France to ſubſtantiate his rights. His apology, as well as that of his co-adept Louvet are in ſubſtance no more than the hiſtory of the very conſpiracy I have juſt been deſcribing. Should it be neceſſary, for the conviction of the reader, to turn to any part of it, let him hearken to Briſſot, when ſaying, the Triumvirs Robeſpierre, Marat, and Danton, have accuſed me "of being the author of the war, and had it not been "for the war, Royalty would have ſtill ſubſiſted! Had it "not been for the war, thouſands of talents, thouſands of "virtues would never have burſt forth from obſcurity! "—And had it not been for the war, Savoy and ſo many "other ſtates whoſe fetters are about to fall, would ne"ver have acquired their Liberty.—They were fearful "of a war conducted by a King—Oh! ſhallow politi"cians! It was preciſely becauſe this perjured King "was to conduct the war, becauſe he could only con"duct it as a traitor, becauſe this treaſon alone would in"fallibly lead him to his ruin; it was for ſuch reaſons, "that it was neceſſary to have a war conducted by the "King.—*It was the abolition of Royalty that I had in "view when I cauſed war to be declared*—Men who "were enlightened underſtood me, when on the 30th of "December 1791, they heard me anſwer Robeſpierre, "who was always talking to me of treaſons to be feared, "*I have but one fear, which is, that we ſhall not be be"trayed; we ſtand in need of treachery, for our whole "ſafety depends on our being betrayed*—For treaſons "would ſoon make that which thwarts the greatneſs of "the French nation diſappear, I mean Royalty."

But while this Sophiſter is declaiming ſo much on *treaſons*, and glorying in that which he had for ſo long a time premeditated againſt this unfortunate Sovereign, which he makes his title of pre-eminence in the eyes of the Jacobins, he takes care not to mention that he would have betrayed the traitors themſelves, had Lewis XVI.

had money ſufficient to ſupply his extravagant demands. On the 9th of Auguſt, the eve of the day when all the Conſpirators were to be put in action, he ſent to aſk the King for *twelve millions* (500,000l.) as a price for withdrawing from the Conſpiracy *and for rendering it abortive.**—What extraordinary men are theſe Sophiſters, and what ideas do they form of their own virtues! But truth impoſes on us the diſguſting taſk of hearkening to this man, while narrating his own crimes. He will boaſt of the time that he employed in meditating and preparing them, and will repreſent the callous indifference with which he viewed the canibal ſcenes of that bloody day as greatneſs of ſoul. "They accuſe me (he continues) of "having preſided over the *extraordinary commiſſion*; *and* "*if the able heads of that commiſſion had not prepared*, "and that a long while previous to the 10th of Auguſt, "thoſe decrees that ſaved France, ſuch as the *ſuſpenſion* "*of the King*, *the convocation of the Convention*, *the or*-"*ganization of a Republican Miniſtry*; if theſe decrees "had not been wiſely combined, ſo as to baniſh every "idea of force or terror; had they not borne the ſtamp of "grandeur and of cool deliberation, the Revolution of "the 10th of Auguſt would have appeared to the eyes of "all Europe to have been a *Revolution of canibals.*— "But at the ſight of wiſdom preſiding in the midſt of "theſe ſtorms, and ſtaying even the arm of carnage, Eu-"rope then believed that France was ſaved. Let who "will calumniate the 10th of Auguſt, the valor of the "federated bands and the deliberate decrees of the Na-"tional Aſſemby, which *had been prepared by the Com*-"*miſſion*, will forever immortalize that day."†

Let us follow this ſtrange Sophiſter; for, after ſhowing how he betrayed Lewis XVI. he will now explain the manner in which he betrayed both the Nation and the Aſſembly; how he and his adherents gradually led the people, and the majority of the Aſſembly to the commiſſion of crimes, of which neither approved. "My opi-"nion (of the 9th of July) on the depoſition of the King "has been much cavilled at. The ſame has happened to "Vergniaux—I here call to witneſs my Colleagues, all "thoſe who were acquainted with *the ſtate of our Aſſem*-

* See the Memoirs of Mr. Bertrand, Vol. III. Chap. XXII.

† Briſſot's Letter to the Jacobins, October 24, 1792.

" *bly, with the weakneſs and minority of the patriots*, the " corruption of terror, the averſion in which the enthuſi- " aſts held the court party. Doubtleſs, it needed no ſmall " ſhare of courage to riſk that eloquent hypotheſis on the " crimes of the King in the midſt of ſuch an aſſembly as " Vergniaux did. And the day after that coalition, which " ſo much weakened the party of the Patriots, was it not " a taſk that required courage which I undertook, to give " a lively deſcription of the crimes of the King, and to " propoſe his being brought to trial. *This was blaſphe-* " *my in the eyes of the majority, nevertheleſs I dared to* " *ſpeak it.*"

When deſcribing the *Girondins*, his chief ſupport, he ſays, " perpetually occupied in repairing their faults, in " union with other enlightened patriots, they *were prepa-* " *ring the minds to pronounce the ſuſpenſion of the King.* " *—They were far from conceiving ſuch a ſtep; and this* " *was my reaſon for riſking that famous diſcourſe of the* " *26th July on the depoſition*, a diſcourſe that in the con- " ception of ordinary minds was a dereliction of princi- " ple, but in the eyes of the enlightened, *was only a pru-* " *dent and neceſſary manœuvre.* I well knew that the " Ariſtocratical party wiſhed nothing ſo much as to meet " the queſtion on the depoſition, becauſe they tho't them- " ſelves certain of ſucceſs, and becauſe *the minds were not* " *yet ripe in the Departments—the defeat of the Patri-* " *ots was therefore inevitable. It was neceſſary then to* " *tack, in order to gain time, to enlighten the public opi-* " *nion, or to ripen it for inſurrection*; for the depoſition " of the King could be effected but by one of theſe two " means.—Such were my motives for pronouncing my " diſcourſe on the 26th of July, which expoſed me to ſo " much reproach, and even ranked me among the ſecret " Royaliſts, while the *Patriote François* (the newſpaper " that he publiſhed) *never ceaſed to prepare the minds in* " *the Departments for theſe extraordinary meaſures.*"

Amidſt the multitude of reflections that muſt naturally ariſe on the peruſal of theſe avowals, the words *it was therefore neceſſary to tack, in order to gain time, to enlighten the public opinion, or to ripen it for inſurrection*, preſent us with a great axiom in the theory of Revolutions. They ſhow us, that thoſe inſurrections repreſented as the grand movements of a people, as the act of the majority of a nation, are merely the efforts of an united

faction againſt the majority of a nation; that had the opinions of the majority of the nation coincided with the views of the Conſpirators, they would not have been obliged to ſeek the aid of brigands, in order to triumph by arms and terror over an unarmed and unſuſpecting people. It may be objected, that France had its National Guards; moſt certainly it had; but Briſſot carefully avoided calling on them for ſuccor. He had ſeen them flocking from all parts of France to the federation on the 14th of July; but theſe truly *federated bands* had ſhown the greateſt marks of attachment to Lewis and his Royal Conſort; and it was not to ſuch men that the Conſpirators dared propoſe the depoſition of the King. What plan do the Conſpirators adopt? They aſſemble all thoſe brigands called *Marſeillois*, (not becauſe they were inhabitants of Marſeilles or Provence, but becauſe the greater part of them had been condemned to the gallies at Marſeilles), and ſurname theſe brigands of all countries *The Federated Bands*. They oblige the inhabitants of the ſuburbs to fall into the ranks with them; they cauſe the commander of the National Guard to be murdered, that, being without a chief, it might have no unity of action, and that thoſe who had been ſeduced might join the brigands. They then repreſent as a general inſurrection of the people, as the will of the nation, that which they have themſelves demonſtrated to have been no other than an inſurrection of their own cut-throat bands againſt their King and the nation at large. Such has been the whole progreſs of the Revolution; all has been done by mobs and inſurrections, or, as the chiefs ſtyle it, by *means of force and terror*, which have enſlaved a nation that had reſiſted every means of ſeduction.

Similar proofs relating to that atrocious Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt are to be found in Louvet's diſcourſe; he alſo boaſts of his cunning in preparing the plots. "*We Jacobins wiſhed for war*, (he ſays) becauſe "peace muſt have undoubtedly killed the Republic—be- "cauſe, undertaken in time, the misfortunes inevitable "at the firſt outſet could be repaired, and would at once "*purify the Senate, the Armies and the Throne*—Every "man *worthy of being a Republican* loudly called for "war. *They dared aſpire to ſtrike a mortal blow at Roy-* "*alty itſelf; to exterminate it for ever, in France firſt,* "AND THEN THROUGHOUT THE UNIVERSE." He

then alludes to the parts acted by his accomplices.—"Thoſe whom you call my friends (he ſays to Robespierre) were *Roland*, who had denounced Lewis XVI. "to all France—*Servan*, who was involved in the honorable retreat of the Miniſter of the Interior, and only "returned into office with him, and that to ſave France "—*Petion*, whoſe conduct at once vigorous and wiſe, was "*wearing out Royalty—Briſſot*, he was writing againſt "Monarchy," (Condorcet was alſo writing in the ſame cauſe)—"*Vergniaux*, *Genſonné*, and many others, *were* "*preparing before hand the plan for the ſuſpenſion—Gaudet* was ſeated in the chair when the cannon began to "roar.—*Barbaroux was advancing at the head of the* "*Marſeillois for the* 10*th of Auguſt*; and lucky it is for "you that he headed them—*I* (Louvet) was writing the "*Sentinelle*; and your eternal vaporings oblige me to ſay, "that my journal contributed much more to the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, than your *Defenſeur de la* "*Conſtitution* (written by Robeſpierre)."*

By the third aſſembly.

Thus have theſe ſanguinary Legiſlators furniſhed the Hiſtorian with the proofs of their own guilt, and of their crimes againſt their Sovereign. Let this Republic then appear, this Republic of Equality and Liberty, ſo long cheriſhed by the Sophiſters, and nurtured by the adepts in their Occult Lodges! Lewis is no longer ſeated on the throne! Let not Lewis, nor any Bourbon, nor any living creature aſpire to it in future. *Royalty is aboliſhed*, and France is proclaimed *a Republic*. This is the firſt decrée of thoſe Conſpirators ſtyling themſelves *a Convention*, and ſucceeding to thoſe who had called themſelves the ſecond National Aſſembly *(September* 21, 1792). The better to eſtabliſh Equality, every mark of rank, even the common marks of civility as well as the title of *King* are proſcribed; and *Citizen* is in future the ſole appellation allowed *(October* 29). Leſt the very ſight of a faithful ſubject ſhould recal the idea of a King, death is pro-

France declared a Republic.

* See *Louvet's Addreſs to Robeſpierre*. Should the reader wiſh for any more of theſe avowals and vapourings of a multitude of adepts on the art with which they prepared the ſanguinary ſcenes of that day, let them read *Robeſpierre's Letter to his Conſtituents; Petion's Obſervations on that Letter;* the *Annales Patriotiques*, by Carra and Mercier, 30th Nov. 1792; the *Chronique de Paris*, by Millin, and his threats on the 5th of Auguſt, 1792, &c. &c.

nounced againſt every Emigrant who ſhall dare to ſet foot on the territories of the Republic (*November* 10). The ſame puniſhment is pronounced againſt any man who ſhould *dare propoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of Royalty in France* (*December* 4).

Lewis XVI. is condemned to death.

The Sect now proceeds towards the completion of its myſteries. Lewis, who had been ſeated on the throne, ſtill exiſts; and it was not in vain that the adepts had been taught in the caverns of the *Knights Kadoſch* to trample on crowns and ſtab Kings. To the atrocious games reality muſt ſucceed; *Robeſpierre* advances; but let him and his hangman range for a time on the field; he is no more than a wild beaſt that the Sect have let looſe. He is not the wretch that devours the captive Monarch; it is the Sect. Even in Lewis are two diſtinct perſons in the eyes of the Jacobins. They would perhaps have loved and revered him in private life; but he was King, and they foam with rage at the very idea; his head falls on the ſcaffold; their relentleſs vengeance even ſtrikes the ſtatue of the beloved and great Henry IV.; every monument that can recal the idea of a King falls beneath their blows. It was not at Lewis, it was at Royalty, that theſe modern Vandals aimed. They declared Lewis XVI. to be a tyrant; they continue to proclaim it; but they have their own interpretation; they ſtyle him ſo, juſt as the Sophiſters ſtyled *every King a Tyrant.*— They knew well, that Lewis XVI. had during a reign of nineteen years ſigned many a pardon, but had never ſigned a ſingle death-warrant; and that certainly is not the character of a tyrant. They knew well, that the firſt act of Lewis on his coming to the throne was to releaſe his ſubjects from the tax cuſtomary on ſuch an occaſion; he aboliſhed the cuſtom of the *Corvées* (or bind days); neither the accuſed nor even the guilty, could be put to the torture during his reign; and do ſuch edicts beſpeak the tyrant? They alſo ſaw him relinquiſh in favor of his ſubjects all the feudal rights in his own domains, that he might obtain by example that alleviation for his people, which he could not eſtabliſh by authority without making an attack upon private property. They knew well that Lewis XVI. was entirely free from thoſe vices which are either odious or burdenſome to nations; he was religious, an enemy to oſtentation, compaſſionate and generous to the poor; they had ſeen him laviſhing his privy purſe to

warm, to cloath, to feed the indigent; ſeen him even carry in perſon ſuccor to the friendleſs cottager; they had ſeen the poor raiſing the ſnow into a pyramid, and ſhaping it out into a monument of gratitude to Lewis XVI. mitigating the rigors of the winter. They knew well, that the gratitude of the poor is not ſo induſtrious to ſhew attachment to a tyrant. In vain they will upbraid him as a deſpot or a tyrant; for they cannot deny, that never a Prince was ſeated on a throne more zealous in his application to his duty, or leſs jealous of his rights than Lewis XVI.; confidence and love ſeem to be his leading features; and if ever he ſpoke in that peremptory way which denotes the determination of being obeyed, it was, when ſurrounded by aſſaſſins, he ſo often repeated to his guards, *If it be neceſſary to ſhed but one ſingle drop of blood for my ſafety, I forbid it to be ſhed*; and ſuch are the orders of a tyrant!!! Should calumny obſtinately perſiſt, let it read theſe laſt ſentiments of Lewis: "I pray all "thoſe whom I may have offended through inadvertency "(for I do not remember to have offended any perſon "knowingly), or thoſe to whom I may have given bad "example, or ſcandal, to pardon whatever injury they "may think I can have done them." Let the regicide judges read (for it is to them he ſpeaks and ſays) "I "pardon with all my heart thoſe who have conſtituted "themſelves my enemies without my giving them cauſe, "and I pray God that he will pardon them." Let them follow him to the ſcaffold, and there contemplate if they dare, that ſerenity of his countenance, in the midſt of his executioners, which ſo well denotes the tranquillity of his ſoul: and they dare not hear his laſt words: Drums are beaten and trumpets ſounded to drown his voice; for they are conſcious that he has neither lived nor is about to die the death of a tyrant.

Real motives of his condemnation.

Theſe conſpiring legiſlators, however, knew it long before they ſat in judgment on their King; for if you aſk them, when in the very act of regicide, of what crime Lewis XVI. has been guilty? They will anſwer, Lewis was a King, and our wish is the death of every King.—Hearken to the Jacobin *Robert:* when he comes to vote he ſays, "I condemn the tyrant to death; and in pronouncing this ſentence, *I have but one regret*, which is, that "my power *does not extend over all the tyrants, to condemn them all to the ſame fate:*" Hear, again, the Jaco-

bin *Carra*; "*For the inſtruction of nations, in all times,* " *and in all places*, and for the conſternation of tyrants, I " vote for death:"—Or the Jacobin *Boileau*; "*Nations* " *accuſtomed to conſider their Kings as ſacred objects* will " neceſſarily ſay, 'the heads of Kings, however, cannot " be ſo ſacred, ſince the axe can ſtrike them, and that they " fall beneath the avenging arm of juſtice.' *It is thus* " *you are launching nations into the career of Liberty*; I " vote for death."*

Should the real cauſe of the death of Lewis XVI. not ſufficiently appear in ſuch language, let the reader revert to that club of the Sophiſters where Condorcet was learning that a day would come *when the Sun would ſhine on none but free men, and when Kings and Prieſts ſhould have no exiſtence but in hiſtory or on the ſtage.* Turn back to thoſe conſpiring dens haunted by the Occult Maſons, and doubt for a moment, if you can, of this hiſtorical truth, that Lewis periſhed upon the ſcaffold *becauſe he was King*; that the daughter of the Cezars periſhed *becauſe ſhe was Queen*; and never was ſhe more deſerving of that exalted ſtation, than when ſhe ſhowed ſuch undaunted courage and greatneſs of ſoul in the midſt of her murderers. Madame Elizabeth periſhed, becauſe neither virtue, innocence, nor magnanimity, could efface the ſtain, indelible in the eyes of the Jacobins, of being the daughter and ſiſter of a King. Philip of Orleans crouched into wickedneſs and infamy, and ſacrificed his immenſe fortune to the Sect; he cowardly and baſely votes for the death of his royal relation to pleaſe the Sect; he takes the name of *Equality*, abandoning rank and birth, and even denies his father to court the Sect; but no ſooner are his crimes unneceſſary for the progreſs of that Sect, than he is dragged away to the ſcaffold becauſe he is of royal deſcent. But the conſpirators are fearful, that if they ſtruck at that model of virtue and goodneſs the Dutcheſs of Orleans, the axe would fall from the hands of the executioners. The numerous ſacrifices made by the Dutcheſs of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti proved to the conſpirators that theſe remnants of blood-royal were little to be feared; nevertheleſs they are obliged, with every perſon of royal extraction, to fly the territories of the new Republic. To cement this hatred for Kings, the day on

* See the Moniteur, Sittings of Jan. 2, and following, 1793.

which Lewis XVI. was murdered on the ſcaffold is declared a perpetual feſtival for *this people equal and free*; on this day the *oath of hatred to Royalty* is to be ſolemnly ſworn by all the Magiſtrates; and this oath is to be in future a neceſſary qualification for the enjoyment of the rights of Citizen in this new Republic; ſuch are the regulations decreed; and death is pronounced, as we have already ſeen, againſt whoever dares propoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of Monarchy.

The atrocities of the Revolution derived from the Sect.

Notwithſtanding the rivers of blood that flowed in France, to conſummate theſe plots againſt Royalty, the Sect and its agents behold theſe horrid ſcenes with all the brutal exultation of cannibals. The guillotine is declared permanent in Paris, and ambulant in the Provinces in queſt of Royaliſts and Prieſts. New words are even invented to denote the butcheries that now take place, for our forefathers had not even formed an idea of cruelties to ſuch an extent. Whole hecatombs of victims are ſhot *in maſs*, and this was ſtyled *Fuſillades*; hecatombs alſo were drowned, and that ſpecies of murder they called *Noyades*.* Is it the Sect then that thus hardens and brutalizes the hearts of the Jacobins? Are we to turn back to their leſſons to explain both the number and the choice

* Another ſpecies of cruelty not mentioned, is that which the cannibals of Nantes called *Des Marriages Patriotiques*.—The reader will ſcarcely believe me when I tell him, that women were comprehended in theſe abominable butcheries. Nevertheleſs, as a refinement of cruelty, when any young royaliſt was ſuppoſed to have an attachment for any young woman, they were tied together, hand and foot, previous to their being thrown into the Loire, that they might paſs in *Charon's Bark together*; or they would tie ſome venerable old clergyman to a young woman, that he might be provided with a young wife in the next world. Such were their *Patriotic Marriages*; ſuch the cruelties that muſt ſurpriſe the reader, were he not acquainted with the ſchool whence they proceed. At Arras *Le Bon* would guillotine *by ſtreets*; and one night returning home, a little drunk, he thought an execution by torch-light would have *a Patriotic effect*. The Count de Bethune, who had been brought to trial in the morning and *acquitted*, was immediately named as the victim; but Le Bon was informed that he had been tried and acquitted; no matter, we will try him again, (ſays the Commiſſary); and the poor Count was condemned and executed becauſe he was *ſoupçonné d'etre ſuſpect*. This, perhaps, is the moſt extraordinary crime on record, *ſuſpected of being a ſuſpicious character* for Ariſtocracy; nevertheleſs, many hundreds periſhed on the ſcaffold for this crime. *Tranſ.*

of victims, the cool wickedneſs of the adepts, the atrocious joy of the executioners? Yes, all you who ſeek the cauſe elſewhere, forget the myſteries; I am obliged to call you back to the true parent of this ſanguinary tribe; yes, it was the principles of the Sect that made *Barnave* at the ſight of heads carried on pikes, ferociouſly ſmile and exclaim, *Was that blood then ſo pure that one might not even ſpill one drop of it?* Yes, it was thoſe principles that made *Chapellier*, *Mirabeau*, and *Gregoire*, when they beheld the brigands ſurrounding the palace of Verſailles in ſanguinary rage, thirſting after murder, and particularly after the blood of the Queen, exclaim, *The People muſt have victims.* It was thoſe principles that even ſmothered the affection of Brother for Brother, when the adept *Chenier*, ſeeing his own Brother delivered over to the hands of the public executioner, coolly ſaid, *If my Brother be not in the true ſenſe of the Revolution, let him be ſacrificed*; that eradicated the feeling of the child for his parents, when the adept *Philip* brought in triumph to the club of the Jacobins *the heads of his father and mother!!* This inſatiable Sect calls out by the mouth of the bloody *Marat*, for *two hundred and ſeventy thouſand heads*, declaring that before long it will count only by millions. They know well, that their ſyſtems and laſt myſteries of Equality can only be accompliſhed in its full extent by depopulating the world; and, by the mouth of *Le Bo*, it anſwers the inhabitants of Montauban, terrified with the want of proviſions, "*Fear not*; *France has a* "*ſufficiency for twelve millions of inhabitants: All the* "*reſt* (that is the other twelve millions) *muſt be put to* "*death, and then there will be no ſcarcity of bread.*"*

We wiſh to caſt the odium of ſuch horrors on a *Marat*, a *Robeſpierre*, or ſome ſuch wretches; but *Barnave* preceded Robeſpierre; and the oath of the Sect to denounce *father*, *mother*, *friends*, *brothers*, and *ſiſters*, and to look upon every perſon as proſcribed who ſhould not adopt the revolutionary principles, did not originate with them. Such was the oath of the Lodges long before the exiſtence of the Jacobins. It was not from Robeſpierre, but in Holbach's club, that Condorcet learned to exclaim as he did in the legiſlative aſſembly, *Let the world periſh, rather than ſacrifice our principles of Equality!*

* Report of the *Comité du Salut Publique*, Auguſt 8, 1795.

It would not be the brigands alone, but Syeyes, Garat, the elect of the Sophifters, and the club of the *twenty-two*, that would fmile at the horror we had conceived at fuch deeds. Thus did Syeyes anfwer Mallet du Pan, when he expreffed his deteftation of the means employed in the revolution; *You are always talking to us of the means employed; but, Sir, it is the End, it is the Object, the Ultimate View, that you muft learn to conjider:* And this very principle, that confoles fuch men as Syeyes for fuch a multitude of atrocities, is to be difcovered in the Code of the Illuminized Lodges, whence it found its way into the Jacobin club.*

A day may come when hiftory will be more accurately informed *how* and *in what haunts* this blood-thirfty Sect pointed out its victims, and taught its adepts not to be ftartled at the number of them. Meantime I have promifed to lead my reader back to that which held its fittings in the *Rue Sourdiere*, where *Savalette de Lange* prefided; where the Illuminees were received; and where *Dietrich*, who was one of the firft that brought the myfteries into France, was feated. The following anecdote may guide the hiftorian in his refearches on that fubject.

At the time when the brigands were put into requifition, when the caftles of the Nobility were being confumed by fire in the provinces, when the heads of the Nobility were being carried in triumph on pikes, the *Abbé Royou*, well known for his zeal againft the Sophifters, was obliged to fly from Paris to efcape the fury of the *Palais Royal* mob. He had wandered for fome time from village to village, when he privately returned to Paris, and called upon me about four o'clock in the morning. On my queftioning him how he had paffed his time during his flight, "I lived, (faid he) chiefly with the cu- "rates, and was very well received by them, but could "not make any long ftay with them, leaft I fhould expofe "them to fimilar danger with myfelf. I foon began to "fufpect the laft curate with whom I took refuge when

* I leave to Mr. Mallet du Pan himfelf, the task of revealing what he heard in that club, and the horror he conceived on the occafion. He may alfo inform the reader with what indignation he received the invitation of the *twenty-two* to become a member of their club. But it was from the mouth of that juftly celebrated author that I learned the anfwer which Syeyes made to his reproaches.

" I saw him receive a letter from Paris. He opened and " read it with such an air, that my suspicions were great- " ly increased. Strongly suspecting that I was the object " of this letter, I watched the opportunity when he was " gone to the church, to enter his room, where I found " the epistle couched in the following terms: *Your letter,* " *my dear friend, was read in presence of the whole club.* " *They were surprized to find so much philosophy in a vil-* " *lage curate. Be tranquil, my dear curate; we are* " *three hundred; we mark the heads and the fall; only* " *keep your people ready; dispose your parishioners to ex-* " *ecute the orders, and they shall be given to you in time.*

(Signed) " DIETRICH, *Secretary.*"

To the many reflections that must naturally arise on the reading of such a letter, I shall only add, that the club to which these three hundred belonged had transferred the place of its sittings to the suburbs of St. Honoré, and that it assembled there for a long time without being observed by the court; when a scene of drunkenness apprised the king of the fate that awaited him. At the conclusion of one of those banquets *sacred to fraternity*, all the brethren made a puncture in their arm and received their blood in their glasses; they then drank the toast *Death to kings*, and thus concluded the fraternal repast. This anecdote will easily suggest of what species of men the *legion of twelve hundred*, proposed by *Jean de Brie* to the Convention, was to be composed, who were to be dispersed over the whole globe to murder all the kings of the earth.

Thus did the Sect, under the name of *Fraternity*, by the frenzy of its Equality, by the very nature of its principles, and by the horrid rites of its Lodges, so degenerate the hearts of its adepts, as to form (like the old man of the mountain) clubs of three hundred assassins at a time. Thus do the mysteries explain the ferocious joy of a Marat, of a St. Just, of a Le Bon, of a Carrier, of a Collot D'Herbois, and the still more ferocious serenity of the Sophisters of the revolution in the midst of massacres and rivers of blood.

But the vengeance of that God who has permitted so heavy a scourge to befall France, now appears to have taken another turn. In that country the altar of Christ is overturned, and the throne of its kings annihilated.—

Thoſe who had conſpired againſt the altar and the throne now conſpire againſt each other. The intruded clergy, the Deiſts, and the Atheiſts, butchered the Catholics.—The Intruders, the Deiſts, and the Atheiſts now begin to cut each other's throats. The Conſtitutionaliſts drove out the Royaliſts, and are in their turn put to flight by the Republicans. The Democrats of the Republic *one and indiviſible*, murder the Democrats of the *federative* Republic; the faction of the *mountain*, guillotines the *Girondin* faction, and then ſplit into the faction of Hebert and Marat, of Danton and Chabot, of Cloots and Chaumette, and in fine into the faction of Robeſpierre, who devours them all, and is in his turn devoured by the faction of Tallien and Freron. Briſſot and Genſonné, Gaudet and Fauchet, Rabaud and Barbaroux, with thirty more, are condemned to death by Fouquier Tinville, juſt as they had condemned their King; Fouquier is himſelf ſent to the ſcaffold, juſt as he had ſent Briſſot and Co. Petion and Buzot periſh with hunger in the foreſts, and are devoured by the wild beaſts; Perrin dies in priſon; Valazé and Labat ſtab themſelves; Marat falls beneath the arm of Charlotte Corday; Robeſpierre dies on the ſcaffold, and Syeyes alone ſurvives, becauſe the cup of vengeance is not yet exhauſted on miſerable France.—*Pentarques* (or the government of five), with a two-fold ſenate, are now become a new curſe on this unhappy country. A Rewbel, Carnot, Barras, Le Tourneur, and a Reveillière Lepaux, aſſume the command of its armies, drive away its deputies equal and free, fulminate its Sections, and rule it with a rod of iron. Every thing trembles before them: when they grow jealous of each other, they plot deſtruction and drive each other into baniſhment; but new tyrants ſucceed and unite together; and at this preſent time the ruling Deities in France are baniſhment, ſtupor, fear, and the Pentarques. Terror has impoſed ſilence throughout the Empire, and this vaſt priſon contains twenty millions of ſlaves, all ſkulking into obſcurity at the very name of a Merlin or a Rewbel, or at the threat of a journey to Cayenne; ſuch is the *Majeſty* of that people ſo frequently declared *Equal*, *Free*, and *Sovereign*.

The Sect purſues its plots againſt Pro-

The reader, perhaps, may think that in the midſt of ſuch maſſacres, factions, tyrants, and terror, the Sect muſt have loſt the thread of all its plots; but it has never loſt ſight

of them for a moment. The Pentarques are more than ever ſtimulated by it againſt the Clergy and the Nobility; while the ultimate myſteries threaten the Pentarques themſelves. In vain ſhall they attempt to preſerve a ſufficiency of the Social Order to keep them in poſſeſſion of that authority which they have erected on the ruins of the throne. The Sect has thus far proceeded ſucceſsfully toward the accompliſhment of its myſteries; but it will not ſtop here; has it not ſworn to annihilate *Property* as well as the throne? During the firſt aſſembly, did not thoſe conſpirators, now *calling themſelves Conſtitutionaliſts*, annihilate the property of the clergy; and the next aſſembly that of the nobility, under the pretence of emigration, while thoſe who remained in France were pillaged under pretence of confiſcation? Then come the adepts *Bruiſſart*, *Robeſpierre*, and the two *Juliens*; and they write that the favorable moment is now come *to extirpate the* MERCANTILE ARISTOCRACY, *as well as that of the Nobles*. In their ſecret correſpondence, juſt as Weiſhaupt does in his myſteries, they declare that *merchantiſm* (negotiantiſm) *muſt be cruſhed. That wherever a large number of rich merchants were to be found, there were ſure to be found as many cheats, and Liberty could not eſtabliſh its empire there.** Accordingly, ſpoliations and requiſitions have robbed the merchants and citizens of their property, juſt as the Clergy and Nobility had been robbed before them. But even this is not the accompliſhment of the *grand end*, of the ultimate views of the Sect, againſt all property, againſt all ſociety whatever. Even under the iron reign of the Pentarques, let us attend to the addreſſes publiſhed by the adepts *Drouet*, *Babœuf*, and *Langelot*: Property and Society;

Extract from the Addreſs to the French People, found in Babœuf's papers.

"People of France,—During fifteen centuries you "lived in ſlavery, therefore unhappy. It is ſcarcely ſix "years ſince you began to breathe *in expectation of in-* "*dependence, of happineſs, and of Equality*. At all times "and in all places men have been lulled with fine words; "never, and in no place, did they obtain the thing with "the word. From time immemorial has it been hypo-

* See Papers found at Robeſpierre's, and printed by order of the Convention, Nos. 43, 75, 89, 107, &c.

" critically repeated, that *men are equal*; and from time " immemorial the moſt monſtrous inequality has inſo- " lently preſſed on mankind. *Ever ſince the exiſtence of* " *Civil Societies*, the fineſt appendage of man has undoubt- " edly been recognized, but has never been once reali- " zed. *Equality has never been any thing but a noble* " *and ſterile fiction of the law.* Now that it is called for " with a louder voice, they anſwer us, Wretches hold " your peace! Equality *in deed* is a mere chimera; be " contented with a conditional equality. You are all equal " before the law, ye raſcals! What more do you want? " —What more do we want!——*Ye Legiſlators, ye Go-* " *vernors, ye Rich, ye Proprietors, now hearken in your* " *turn:*

" *We are all equal.*—That principle is inconteſtable. " - - - *Very well! We mean in future to live and die as* " *we are born. We will have real Equality, or death.*— " That is what we want, and we will have that real equa- " lity, coſt what it will. *Wo be to thoſe whom we ſhall* " *meet between it and us!* Wo to the man who ſhall " dare oppoſe ſo poſitive a determination! *The French* " *revolution is but the forerunner of a revolution greater* " *by far and much more ſolemn; and which will be the* " *laſt.* - -

" What do we aſk more than the Equality of rights? " Why, we will not only have that Equality tranſcribed " in the declaration of the rights of man and of the citi- " zen; we will have it in the midſt of us, under the roofs " of our houſes. We conſent to every thing for the ac- " quiſition of it, even *to clear decks*, that we may poſſeſs " it alone; *Periſh the arts, if requiſite*, provided we do " but preſerve real Equality!

" Legiſlators and Governors, *Proprietors*, *rich* and " *bowel-leſs*, in vain do you attempt to paralize our ſacred " enterprize, by ſaying, *we are only re-producing the A-* " *grarian law* that has been ſo often aſked for before.

" Calumniators! hold your peace in your turn, and in " the ſilence of confuſion hearken to our pretenſions, dic- " tated by nature, and grounded on juſtice.

" *The Agrarian law, or the equal partition of lands,* " *was the momentary wiſh* of a few ſoldiers without prin- " ciples, of a few clans actuated rather by inſtinct than by " reaſon. *We aim at ſomething far more ſublime, far* " *more equitable*; GOODS IN COMMON, *or* THE COM-

" MUNITY OF ESTATES! *No more individual proper-*
" *ties in land, for the earth belongs to nobody. We demand*
" *and will enjoy the goods of the earth in common. The*
" *fruits belong to all.*

" *Diſappear now, ye diſguſting diſtinctions of rich and*
" *poor, of higher and lower, of maſter and ſervant, of*
" GOVERNING *and* GOVERNED! *for no other diſtinction*
" *ſhall exiſt among mankind, than thoſe of* AGE *and* SEX."*

The authors of this addreſs were certainly too haſty in their publication; but every reader will ſee that their language perfectly coincides with the *Man-king* of Illuminiſm. France, it is true, was not yet ſufficiently prepared for this laſt plot; but it is neceſſary ſometimes to detach certain adepts to ſound the way, tho' afterwards the Sect ſhould find it neceſſary to diſavow and ſacrifice its offſpring. Though Babœuf may have been ſacrificed to the myſteries, his accomplices ſtill live; their legions impoſed upon the judges and on the Pentarques themſelves, and they dared not condemn *Drouet*. Is it to be ſuppoſed, that after completely pillaging the Clergy and the Nobility, after ſucceſsfully deſpoiling many merchants, tradesmen, and citizens, in the ſame manner as the Sect had pillaged the two firſt Orders of the State, a ſingle defeat ſhould ſuffice to check its views? or can we ſay, that it will not one day proclaim that *Equality in deed* which which ſhall baniſh from the earth all thoſe *diſtinctions of rich and poor, of higher and lower, of maſter and ſervant*, and ultimately *of* GOVERNING *and* GOVERNED?

Some perſons may flatter themſelves that our ſciences may protract the day of barbariſm, when men are to roam in clans without laws or magiſtrates; but have we not ſeen in the myſteries, that our ſciences, in the eyes of the Sect, are no other than the prime cauſe of our misfortunes, of the alledged ſlavery of ſociety?† And if facts did not ſpeak clearly enough, if the monuments of art falling beneath the blows of the Jacobins did not ſufficiently denote the veneration it bears to the productions of genius; if any apparent reſpect ſhould ſtill be ſhown to the fathers of letters, let not the reader conceive that the adepts have really bluſhed at the ſight of theſe modern vandals: Fire and ſword have only haſtened that progreſs

againſt Arts and Sciences.

* See the Papers ſeized at Babœuf's.

† See the Degree of Regent.

which they ſo much extol; it was not Babœuf alone that would exclaim, *Periſh the arts, if requiſite, provided we do but preſerve real Equality!* The Jacobin Philoſophiſt, if ſincere, will have no difficulty in ſaying what the legiſlators have ſo often proclaimed from the tribune, "What need have we of all your colleges, academies, and libraries? Needs there ſo much ſtudy and ſo many books for learning the *only true* ſcience? *Let the nations know the rights of man, and they will know enough.*"*

I know that a muſeum and a national inſtitute are held out as objects of magnificence, in which the revolution would appear to infuſe new vigor into the arts and ſciences; but let the ſage in the midſt of this vaſt muſeum reflect for a moment. Thunderſtruck at this immenſe aſſemblage of theft, pillage, and robbery erected into trophies, will he not exclaim, Do theſe men then barefacedly ſcoff at every idea of property who thus diſplay the fruits of their rapine and extortion? After having pillaged and deſtroyed every thing within their own country, they ſet off to deſpoil the neighboring States tranquilly repoſing on the banks of the Scheldt, the Meuſe, or the Tiber.—They divide the gold they have ſtolen among themſelves, and they exalt to public view what they have robbed for the State. Within this temple of the arts, therefore, the idea of property is as much blaſted as within the Occult Lodges of thoſe adepts who had ſworn to annihilate the ſocial compact.

And what is this national Lyceum, where we find the Geometrician *La Place*, the Aſtronomer *La Lande*, the Poetaſter *Chenier*, the Commentator of the Zodiac *Dupuis*, the Hiſtorian of the mountains *La Metherie*, all conſecrating their ſtudies and their ſcience to prove that God does not exiſt? Behold the Sect ſmiling at their labors; for it is aware, that Atheiſm will ſoon annihilate arts and ſciences, as well as property and ſociety. Little does it concern itſelf whether the greater part of the literati ſtop

* I do not exactly remember the particular names of the Deputies who would hold forth ſuch language at the tribune; I can affirm, however, that the ſophiſticated Legiſlator *Rabaud de St. Etienne* frequently held ſuch language in company, which has more than once given riſe to a good deal of debate. Once, in particular, he and *Mr. Deſilet*, a man of letters, almoſt quarrelled on the ſubject; and that was quite at the beginning of the Revolution.

ſhort in the career of the myſteries; for they are forwarding the views of the Sect without knowing it, even where they have made their ſtand. Its degrees are progreſſive, and it well knows that the ſophiſticated and atheiſtical Jacobin will beget the diſorganizing Jacobin. In the Lyceum, or adhering to Babœuf and Drouet, it beholds its offspring laborious Atheiſts profeſſing its principles, and, in ſhort, true Jacobins; and though this *name* ſhould for a time be rejected with contempt, it will not forget that the principles, and *not the name*, conſtitutes the diſciple. Some are diſguſted with the firſt conſequences flowing from theſe principles, and they ſtop; while others complacently proceed to the laſt. The Sect will therefore fix the former in its firſt degrees; the latter are initiated in its ultimate myſteries; and whether its agents are literati or brutes, it is of no conſequence to the Sect. In the French revolution it has always had the art to diſtribute the different parts as it does its degrees, and to vary them without ever loſing ſight of its ultimate object.

In its attack upon God, we have ſeen its intruded Clergy, its Deiſts, and its Atheiſts. The firſt overturned the altars of the Catholic religion; the ſecond, of the Lutheran and Calviniſt church, and of every religion adoring Chriſt; and the third blaſphemouſly proclaimed the non-exiſtence of a God. Progreſſion obſervable in the plots, and parts acted in the revolution.

In the attack on monarchy the Sect has had ſucceſſively its *Neckeriſts*, its *Fayetiſts*, its *Conſtitutionaliſts*, its *Girondins*, its *Conventioniſts*. Herein it is that the reader may obſerve the Sect varying and gradually diſtributing its parts to wind up the horrid ſcene to the bloody cataſtrophe. Here we ſee thoſe different actors faithfully fulfilling the parts that had been diſtributed to them.—Syeyes pronounces that the tyrant ſhall die: this tyrant is Lewis XVI. Necker ſeizes on him and, delivers him over to the legiſlative conſpirators of the third order; La Fayette and Bailly, with the Conſtituent Aſſembly, leave him but the ſhadow of a ſceptre and his royal robes rent aſunder. They then deliver him up, after having taught the people to drag him ignominiouſly from Verſailles to the Town-hall of Paris, from Varennes to the Thuilleries. The unfortunate monarch is now ſurrounded by banditti armed with pikes. *Briſſot* and his *Girondins* proceed in that career begun by *Necker* and *La Fayette*, and find that with a mere breath the throne can be overturned;

Lewis is then dragged from the Thuilleries to the Towers of the Temple. Robeſpierre, Petion, and Marat, are the next that ſeize on his royal perſon; and from the Temple they hurry him to the ſcaffold. In this long concatenation of ſeditions, rebellions, and treaſons, to the very conſummation of the regicide, I ſee various actors; but the guilt of all and each is equal. They are all agents in the conſpiracy of Equality and Liberty; all proceed from the ſame tenebrous receſſes; all are Jacobins.

In the conſpiracy againſt property and all ſociety the ſame gradation and principles are to be obſerved; and with a ſimilar conſtancy does the Sect tend toward the grand *ultimatum*. The irreligious Sophiſters of every claſs deſpoil the Clergy; the Sophiſters commoners plunder the Nobility; next comes the ſophiſticated banditti, who lay violent hands on the riches of the merchant or the wealth of the commoner. Meanwhile the conquering Sophiſters diſplay the ſpoils of foreign nations; and the atheiſtical Sophiſters at length break the laſt tie of ſociety. The former had only admitted one part of the myſteries; the latter are willing to conſummate them all. They will that property ſhall not exiſt, either in the church, the nobility, the commoner, or in any mortal whatever. In virtue of their Equality, the earth is to be the property of none, the produce the property of all. In virtue of their Liberty, Condorcet refuſes to obey a God, Briſſot to recognize a king, and Babœuf to ſubmit to a republic, to magiſtrates, or to any *governing* power. And whence do all theſe men come? All proceed from the Jacobin club; they are the offſpring of Holbach's club, of the Maſonic Lodges, and of the Illuminizing Myſteries. Their natural parents are Voltaire, Jean Jaques Rouſſeau, the Knights *Kadoſch*, and the Bavarian *Spartacus*.

Thus do we trace the diſciples of the Sect perpetually aiming at the accompliſhment of its myſteries; whether in their crimes and ſucceſs againſt their God or againſt their king, whether in their eſſays againſt republics or the laſt veſtiges of ſociety; every ſtep in the French revolution demonſtrates the activity of its adepts, brigands of every degree, purſuing its ultimate views. Indeed it has not yet accompliſhed all its deſigns; and may God grant that they may be foiled in the attempt! But let the mind of man calculate, if it be able, the crimes committed by the

Sect, and the disasters that have already befallen France; and when it shall have succeeded in this calculation, will it dare venture to explore those entailed on futurity? Let the father of every family contemplate, and inscribe on the threshold of his house, that threat of the adepts contained in the following sentence: *The French Revolution is but the forerunner of a Revolution greater by far, and much more solemn.*

That nations may be awakened to their danger, let us show them that they are all without exception, menaced with similar misfortunes to those that have befallen France. Such is their fate decreed by the Sect in its Mysteries; for their views are not confined to any particular people, but aim at all nations whatever. To facts therefore, I will once more appeal; and my reader shall see how perfectly they coincide with the Code of the Sect on the extent and universality of its conspiracies.

CHAP. XIII.

Univerſality of the Succeſs of the Sect explained by the Univerſality of its Plots.

Succeſs of the Jacobins;

OF all the phœnomena of the French Revolution, perhaps, the moſt aſtoniſhing, and, unfortunately, the moſt inconteſtable, is, the rapidity of thoſe conqueſts that have already revolutionized a conſiderable part of Europe, and menace the remainder of the univerſe. Nothing can be more ſurprizing than to ſee the facility with which Jacobiniſm has erected its ſtandards, or planted the tree of Equality and diſorganizing Liberty in Savoy, Belgium, Holland, on the Banks of the Rhine, in Switzerland, on the other ſide of the Alps, in Piedmont, in the Milanois, and even at Rome. When I come to explain theſe phœnomena, I ſhall not allow myſelf to be carried away by ſyſtem or by prejudice. I will confeſs, that genius, bravery and talents, have frequently wreſted the palm of victory. I candidly confeſs, that many of their triumphs are due to men who by their courage and talents were entitled to ſerve a better cauſe. I will not diſpute their glory with them; let them entwine their laurels with the red cap; let their glory mingle with remorſe at the ſight of thoſe vile Jacobins, and tyrannic Pentarques, in whoſe defence they have rivalled their anceſtors, who ſhone in the days of Henry IV. or Lewis XIV.—

its ſingularity;

Nevertheleſs, in the career of their conqueſts many points, and a large ſhare of their ſucceſſes, are to be attributed to other cauſes than to their valor. We have ſeen chiefs deſtitute of experience or merit baffling the wiſdom and talents of heroes conſummate in the military art. We have ſeen the Carmagnole Bands, ſoldiers of a day, make their triumphant entry into whole provinces, while all the diſcipline of the combined legions of Auſtria, Hungary, and Pruſſia, could not impede their progreſs. The military ſcience acquired by thoſe veteran bands in camps and under the tuition of the greateſt captains, appears to have been uſeleſs. In ſpite of the arts of a Cohorn or a Vauban, citadels have fallen at the ſight of the new conquer-

ors; and if a battle is fought, one only victory, or even a defeat, will acquire whole provinces to their new dominion, that would have coſt long and painful compaigns to a Marlborough or a Turenne. Another prodigy preſſes on our notice. Theſe Jacobin conquerors are received like brethren by the vanquiſhed nations, and their legions are ſwoln in the very places where thoſe of any other power would dwindle into nothing. They impoſe the harſheſt of yokes on their new ſubjects, are guilty of every ſpecies of extortion, devaſtation, and ſacrilege, overturning all laws human and divine, yet are nevertheleſs received with as loud acclamations by the multitude, as if it was their Saviour that approached. Theſe certainly are phenomena that the hiſtorian would in vain attempt to illuſtrate were he only acquainted with the viſible armies of the Sect. To unfold theſe myſteries, let us boldly declare it; the Sect and its plots, its legions of ſecret emiſſaries, have every where preceded the armies and their thunderbolts of war. It had infeſted ſtates with its principles long before it ſent either its *Pichegru's* or *Buonaparte's* to attack them. Its means once prepared, traitors were to be found in the fortreſſes to open the gates; they were to be found in the armies, and in the councils of Princes, to render the plans of attack or defence abortive. Its ſubterraneous Clubs, Lodges, Correſponding Societies, Journals, and Propagandiſts, had already diſpoſed the populace and prepared the way. The day will come when nations ſhall have written the hiſtory of this age. Does it not already appear, that each of them will have to dedicate many pages of that hiſtory to unfold the treaſons of which it has fallen a victim, to enumerate the traitors that it has been obliged to puniſh, or to deſcribe the means employed to avert the threatening ſtorm. In order to point out the main-ſpring of all theſe machinations, I ſhall turn back to theſe days when the French Revolution was firſt riſing into exiſtence.

its general cauſe.

The adepts of revolutionary Equality and Liberty had buried themſelves in the Lodges of Maſonry. At the commencement of the Revolution a manifeſto is iſſued to *all the Maſonic Lodges*, and to all the *Directories* (who are to make the proper uſe of it among *all the brethren of Europe)*, by the central Lodge of France, the *Grand Orient* of Paris, the ſecond Areopage of Illuminiſm. By this manifeſto, and in virtue of fraternity, "all the Lodges

Manifeſto of the *Grand Orient* of Paris;

" are ſummoned *to confederate together*; to unite their " efforts to maintain the revolution; to gain over to it, in " all parts, friends, partizans, and protectors; to propa- " gate the flame, to vivify the ſpirit, *to excite zeal and* " *ardor for it, in every ſtate, and by every means in their* " *power.*" This is an indiſputable fact; it was ſent even into England, where the Lodges were leaſt diſpoſed to ſecond it. It was diſperſed throughout the Lodges in Germany, and Joſeph II. got poſſeſſion of one ſigned *Philip of Orleans.**

its effect, and union of the Jacobin Writers.

Never did any government publiſh an edict ſo efficacious. Immediately all the adepts in their public prints begin to cry up the revolution and its principles. In Holland *Paulus* publiſhes his Treatiſe on Equality; *Paine*, in England, his *Rights of Man*; *Campe*, in Germany, his French Citizen; and *Philo*-Knigge even outdoes himſelf in his *Profeſſion of Political Faith.*† In Italy *Gorani* appears; in ſhort, every nation has its apoſtle of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the People. Theſe incendiary productions, with thouſands of others, are diſtributed among the people, and are even thrown by ſtealth into the cottages. Theſe were but the general means of the Sect. Men who deſpiſe the powers of opinion, or of public error, may ſmile at ſuch revolutionary means; but great conſpirators knew too well how to appreciate them. The title of *French Citizen* now becomes their ſole title of Nobility, and *Campe*, *Paine*, and *Cramer*, with many others who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their incendiary writings, are thus rewarded for their villany. Obſcure writers, but fanatic Illuminees, are called from the bottom of Germany, ſuch as *Nimis*, *Dorſch*, *Blau*, to compile in Paris periodical papers, that are to ſpread the revolutionary enthuſiaſm beyond the Rhine. They are ſurrounded by a *Leuchſenring*, a *Rebbmann*, a *Hoffman*, with many other adepts, who flocked to contrive the treaſons that were to extend their conqueſts in thoſe

* See Hoffman's Avis Important, Vol. I. Sect. XIX.

† This work alone might ſuffice to prove, that if *Philo*-Knigge did really abandon the Order of the Illuminees, he continued at leaſt to propagate their principles. Should the reader wiſh for a more ſtriking proof, he will find it in the hiſtorical Eulogium upon him, written by the Jacobin *George Frederic Rebbmann*, who alſo wrote the Eulogy of Robeſpierre. *(See his Schildvachte, Vol. I. Art.* KNIGGE, *and* FRANCE, *page* 89.*)*

countries where the other adepts were preparing the opinions. So well did they know the importance of being maſters of the public opinion, that to conquer it by means of their Propagandiſts, Journaliſts, and other writers, they ſpent no leſs than *thirty millions of Livres* during the firſt year of their incurſions and during 1797; they laviſhed *twenty-one millions* for the ſame purpoſe.*

Plots that prepare the ſucceſs of their arms in Germany.

Let us then follow the army, and combine its marches with the progreſs of the Sect and the motions of its apoſtles. Let us follow them into Germany, into Belgium, Holland, Spain, in ſhort, wherever its arms have triumphed; and we ſhall then ſee whether the revolution does not owe the progreſs of its arms as much to the occult adepts, as to the courage of its victorious bands.

Of all the French Generals no one, perhaps, was more inflated with his ſucceſſes than Cuſtine; and certainly he had little reaſon to expect them, as he was deſtitute of thoſe talents and that intrepidity which denotes the great General. Nevertheleſs, Europe with aſtoniſhment beheld him in one campaign making himſelf maſter of Worms, Spire, and even Mayence. But when Europe ſhall know how theſe conqueſts were prepared, its aſtoniſhment will ſubſide, and its indignation will ariſe againſt the treacherous offſpring of *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt.

Condorcet, Bonneville, and Fauchet, had marked out each department of correſpondence for their propagandiſts. Straſbourg was the center, or directory for the union and communication between the German and French adepts. The Chiefs of Illuminized Lodges, STAMM and *Hyerophiles*-HERMANN; who, together with the Illuminee DIETRICH, has juſtly obtained the ſurname of the *Guillotiner* of Alſace, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in that province and at Straſbourg. Beyond the French frontiers the correſponding adepts for Worms and Spire are the Calviniſt miniſter ENDEMAN, the Syndic *Beliſarius*-PETERSON, the Canon *Cyril (of Alexandria)* SCHWEICKARD, *Zeno (of Tharſes)* KÖBLER, *Lucius Apuleius*-JANSON, *Virgilius*-HULLEN, the Canon

* With reſpect to the 30,000,000 ſee Dumourier's Memoirs, and for the 21,000,000, that are included in the accounts of this year, the uſe to which they were put, was betrayed by one of thoſe deputies whom the Pentarques wiſhed to baniſh to Cayenne.

WINCKLEMANN, and particularly the professor BÖHMER at Worms. These adepts are in close connection with the club at Mayence, headed by a man on whom the defence of the town was chiefly to depend, the Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers EICKENMAYER, together with METTERNICH, BENZEL, KOLBORN, VEDEKIND BLAU, HAUSER, FORSTER, HAUPT, and NIMIS. It is with regret that I fully the page of history with such names; but proofs are necessary, and perhaps no one more apposite can be adduced, than to show that the very names of the vilest traitors are known.*

Long before this had all these adepts been occupied with the plan of delivering up the left bank of the Rhine and the fortress of Mayence to the jacobins; they had been disposing the minds of the inhabitants of the towns and country towards the revolution by the encomiums which they were continually pronouncing on it. No sooner does Custine take the field, than his Aid-de-Camp, since become his historian, describes him as placing all the confidence in *Stamm*, the famous adept of Strasbourg. Soon after a deputation of the principal Illuminees *invite Custine to advance into the country*, and assure him that by so doing *he will meet the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants*. They added, that *should he be uneasy as to the means of surmounting certain apparent difficulties, they could assure him, that they and their friends had power enough to engage to remove them all; that they were the organs of a numerous society entirely devoted to him, and actuated by the greatest zeal for his success.*† At the head of this deputation is the adept *Böhmer*; and, together with *Stamm*, he is entrusted with the whole confidence of the General. These adepts, in conjunction with the subordinate deputies, now take the whole direction of the jacobin army; they lead it into Worms, and propose next to carry it against Mayence. Custine is in a tremor at the idea of such an enterprize; the adepts insist, and he at length resolves to let his army proceed against this bulwark of the empire. But at the very sight of its ramparts his fears seize him again; the brethren sooth him, and dictate the summons that he is to send General *Gimnich*. The answer he receives makes him prepare for his retreat even

* See Hoffman Avis Important, Sect. XV.

† Custine's Memoirs, Vol. I. Page 46, 47.

before he had thought of an attack, when, lo! during the night a letter from the brethren in Mayence to the adept *Böhmer* transforms his fears into hopes of fucceſs. This letter ſtated, that the *friend* who enjoyed all the confidence of the commander *was determined to employ all his influence to perſuade him of the impoſſibility of defending the place*; that the brethren had ſo *worked upon the inhabitants*, that it would only need to add *a few more threats* in the next ſummons that was made. Faithful to his inſtructions, Cuſtine aſſumes the tone of a conqueror, who has prepared a general aſſault, and is on the eve of delivering Mayence over to pillage and all the fury of the ſoldiery in caſe of reſiſtance. The illuminized *friend*, or the Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers *Eickenmayer*, who enjoyed the whole confidence of the Commander, and the Baron *Stein*, the Pruſſian Envoy, join in their efforts to prove to the Council of War that it was impoſſible to defend the place (and this againſt an enemy who had not the means to attack it, and who was actually determined to take to flight ſhould he meet with reſiſtance). The other brethren ſpread the alarm among the inhabitants. The brave AUDUJAR and his eleven hundred Auſtrians are indignant, but in vain; the capitulation is ſigned, and Cuſtine, with an army of 18,000 men, deſtitute of heavy artillery, trembling leſt he ſhould not be able to make his retreat with ſufficient ſpeed ſhould he but meet with reſiſtance, obtains poſſeſſion, within the ſpace of three days, and without firing a ſhot, of thoſe very ramparts that had ſtruck him with ſo much terror. In ſuch a manner are towns taken in which the Sect predominates.*

Let the hiſtorian follow Cuſtine and his ſucceſſors to Frankfort, and he will find in the neighborhood of that town a principality of *Iſenbourg*; he will there learn how the Sect can protect its adepts. Every part around this ſmall principality had been ravaged; but this little town was the ſeat of the Council for the Illuminees, where *Pitſch* preſided. It was from this place that all the neceſſary inſtructions were ſent for the jacobin army, which in return revered the ſanctuary of Iſenbourg, and even the lure of pillage could not attract the ſoldiery. But

* Ibid. Vol. I. Page 92, and Deſodoard's Hiſtory of the French Revolution, Vol. I. Book II. No. 24.

when *Pitſch* and his council diſappear, the charm ceaſes, and the fertile plains of Iſenbourg are ravaged.*

Conſpiracy for the Cis Rhenane Republic.

The armies are overthrown and driven from Mayence; but the union of the brotherhood does not ſuffer, and the Sect prepares new means of ſucceſs for the revolutionary army. Some of theſe conſpiring adepts diſappear for a time, and then return to Mayence, while others are received in Paris, there, in conjunction with the Pentarques, to deviſe new means for retaking that town, which now appears to bid defiance to all the Cuſtines of the revolution; and ſoon after Europe, with aſtoniſhment, learns that Mayence with the whole left bank of the Rhine is once more ſubjected to the revolutionary power. At firſt it is the Cis-Rhenane Republic, then it becomes the ſimple department of the Pariſian Republic. But the adepts are to be recompenſed for having effected by their black arts of Illuminiſm, that which the Pentarques muſt have deſpaired of, notwithſtanding the bravery of their troops. The profeſſor *Metternich* had been employed as Directorial Commiſſary at Fribourg. *Hoffman* is now inſtalled Receiver General on the Rhine, with a ſalary of fifty thouſand livres. *Rebbmann*, the panegyriſt of Robeſpierre, is created head of the Cis-Rhenane judicature. We next find acting in concert with the above-mentioned, the Privy Counſellor to the Elector of Cologn *Kempis*, and his co-illuminees the Profeſſor *Gerhard*; the Advocate *Watterſal*, and the Artiſt *Conrad*; and that my reader may know by what men revolutions may be brought about, I will name the taylor *Brizen*, the cobler *Theiſſen*, the grocer *Flügel*, the hair-dreſſer *Broches*, and the alehouſe-keeper *Rhodius*.†

Conſpiracy in Belgium.

Other plots of the Sect will bring us back to Germany again; but in the mean time Dumourier triumphs over the ſtationary hero of Verdun, and flies to take poſſeſſion of Belgium. Let eternal darkneſs hover round the machinations that gave this General more time to collect his ſcattered troops than was ſufficient for a victorious army to proceed to Paris, and deliver the unfortunate Lewis. Let no reader pretend to aſſociate the reigning Duke of Brunſwick with the brotherhood of the mo-

* Appendix to the Ultimate Fate of Maſonry, Page 17, and Mamoirs.

† Memoirs on Mayence.

dern *Spartacus*. I have positive proof that he detests them; I also know, that Frederic William III. has given various proofs, notwithstanding he may have been played upon by another species of Illuminees, that he hated and abhorred the disorganizing jacobins. But his councils are under the direction of other councils. *Bischofswerder* was at Berlin; *Lucheſini* held correſpondences; the adepts are in the *Dicaſteres* (the Offices.)—Their influence is moſt formidable, and the Sect has already declared, that it will be *far ſtronger when once in poſſeſſion of the Offices and Councils under the Prince, than if they had initiated the Prince himſelf.* The day may come that will explain the enigma of this famous retreat made at the time when all Europe was at the height of expectation, and daily awaited the laſt accounts of its triumphs; meanwhile I ſhall proceed to unfold myſteries that, hitherto unknown, have led us to view Dumourier as conquering Belgium in the fields of Jemappe. Here at leaſt the laurels are to be divided, for the conſpiring Sect has borne a larger ſhare in this conqueſt than his armies; and it was in London, rather than at Jemappe, that the Auſtrian Netherlands were conquered.

The Sect had its Lodges in Brabant, and *Vandernoot* had brought over his party to them. He knew that the brethren ſought to repreſent the French revolution in ſuch colors as to make the people eager in its cauſe; he was alſo acquainted with thoſe Lodges that had addreſſed the National Aſſembly, humbly petitioning for their revolutionary Equality and Liberty. *Vandernoot* was then in London, under the name of *Gobelſcroix*. An emiſſary from the Pariſian club, he was proſecuting his plots, together with *Chauvelin*, *Perigord D'Autun*, *Noel*, *Bomet*, and eight other adepts, ſent to ſpread the revolutionary principles in England. *Vandernoot* entruſted himſelf to perſons with whoſe principles he was not ſufficiently acquainted; but they knew him well; he betrayed his ſecret, and thus the whole myſtery is come to light. During the diſputes, and even warfare, carried on between the Belgians and Joſeph II. the greater part of them certainly had not the moſt diſtant idea of ſubjecting their country to the revolutionary principles of the Jacobins; but the Sect had its partizans, and theſe adepts left no means untried to perſuade the people that the ſole reſource

for recovering their liberty was to unite with the French. "I was well acquainted with these plans (said Vandernoot to his confidant); no sooner were we informed of "what had passed between the Duke of Brunswick and "Dumourier, than we immediately wrote *to Paris and* "*to the army*. The messenger brought us back the plan "of the campaign, and a copy of the manifesto that Du- "mourier was to publish on his entry into the Low "Countries. I saw that the plan had been exactly copi- "ed from that followed by Custine in his extortions in "Germany. I foresaw that such a plan would appal all "the efforts of our people, and would only serve to league "the inhabitants against the French, whereas if they "would but follow my ideas, derived from the know- "ledge I had of that people, and of their dispositions, I "would answer for their seconding the French invasion, "and that it would infallibly turn out successful. At the "request of Chauvelin and Noel, I drew up the plan to "be followed, and wrote the manifesto that was to be "published, framing it according to the local knowledge "and experience I had acquired; and the whole was im- "mediately sent off to Paris. They were both adopted "on the spot. Dumourier did not change a syllable of "the manifesto that I had written in *Portman Square*. "The people, gained over by our agents, and by this "manifesto, threw themselves into our arms, and Flanders "was taken."

No reader can expect that I should name the persons to whom Vandernoot had thus opened his plans; of this much, however, I can assure the public, that the whole was laid before the ministry, who for a time suffered Noel, Vandernoot, and their accomplices to remain in London, but keeping a close watch over them until they were sent elsewhere to conspire and prosecute their vile machinations, against nations that they dared not meet in the open field.

In Holland. Next to the conquest of Belgium came that of Holland; and with equal astonishment has Europe seen the formidable bulwarks of that republic falling at the approach of the Jacobin armies. Here again we must resort for the cause to the dark recesses of the Sect. The apostles of Illuminism had been laboring in Holland ever since the year 1781.* The immense sums of money

* Original Writings, and Philo's Report.

drawn from thoſe countries were not the only ſucceſſes of the Sect. The Stadtholder had already learned, to his coſt, how much they could envenom faction and ſedition; the French revolution then came to raiſe their expectations and ſtimulate their labors. The Low Countries had for a ſecond time received their Jacobin conquerors. The Engliſh army fell back to the frontiers of its ancient ally to vindicate its liberties from the attempts of the enemy. Its efforts, however, are uſeleſs, for Holland no longer wills the liberty of the true patriot, it wills that of the Jacobin. Its wiſhes ſhall ſoon be complied with; the brethren of Paris ſhall dictate the law in Amſterdam, and ſhall ſeize on its riches; the commerce of Holland ſhall be annihilated; its colonies wreſted from it; and ſoon ſhall it rank among the powers of Europe, only as the firſt ſlave of the Gallic Pentarques. No matter. Let Pichegru approach, for he is the object of their wiſhes; and the defenders of their true liberty may ſeek their ſafety in retreat; for the countries they with to defend are replete with plots againſt them and conſpiracies in favor of the revolution. In Amſterdam alone the Sect has no leſs than forty clubs, and each club has the direction of two hundred revolutioniſts. The elect of theſe clubs form two committees, the central and the correſponding committees; and this latter holds correſpondence with brethren both within and without the territories of the republic. Theſe are ſubject to a ſupreme council, the true Areopagites, whoſe reſolves are tranſmitted to the diſperſed brethren. Perſons who watched over the public welfare have acted the parts of aſſociates in hopes of diving into the myſteries; but the ſcrutators at Amſterdam were as crafty as thoſe of Munich, and theſe adepts could never penetrate beyond the firſt myſteries, while other clubs were compoſed of men well known by the Sect to be the firmeſt advocates for Jacobin Equality and Liberty.

Deputies from *Leyden* are delegated to the central committee; and the brotherhood at Leyden had made a greater progreſs in proportion, both in numbers and ſedition, than it had at Amſterdam. The adepts of *Utrecht* were ſtill more ardent revolutioniſts than either. The vigilance of government, and the neighborhood of the armies, had put them to flight; the chiefs, however, aſſembled together in country-houſes, and their deliberations were tranſmitted to the Areopage at Amſterdam.—

Rotterdam appeared to be neuter; but it held a neutrality that only waited the propitious moment for declaring in favor of Jacobinism. The minister and adept *Mareux* had made the conquest of three fourths of the inhabitants of *Naarden*. The commissary *Aiglam* would have been restless had he known of a single inhabitant of *Haarlem* that was not devoted to the adepts of Amsterdam.*

The better to conduct the proceedings of the faction, the French convention had sent a secret agent of the name of *Malabar* to reside at Amsterdam; he had two acolytes, called *l'Archêveque* and *Aiglam*. At once enjoying the confidence of Pichegru (then advancing with his victorious army) and of the rebels in the interior, Malabar never apppeared but at the meetings of the Areopagites, where he dictated the resolves. *L'Archêveque* and *Fresine* were employed in carrying on the correspondence with Pichegru. In Amsterdam and Haarlem, *Aiglam* was inspector-general of the subterraneous arsenals whither the brethren were to flock for arms on the signal given. —Should they stand in need of the protection of the magistracy, the adept *Dedelle* was burgo-master. If funds were wanting, the counting-houses of *Texier*, *Couderc*, and *Rottereau*, are open to them, besides the treasures of the Jew *Sportas*, a most vehement revolutionist. Among the clubists the adepts *Gulcher* and *Lapeau* distinguish themselves, as do *Latour* and *Periffe* among their armourers. Next in quest of enthusiasts who shall declaim to the populace, we meet the adepts *Termache*, *Lekain*, *Müllner*, *Schneider*, and many others. On their general roll-call they count 40,000 men ready to march out to meet the advancing Jacobins, or to charge in the rear the armies of the allies, and those legions that might still remain faithful to their duty. Nothing now was wanting but a general capable of directing their march; and *Eustace* was sent from Paris.—On a sudden the vigilance of the English minister and of the Duke of York seemed to have counteracted this conspiracy, that had been so well concerted; and the government was informed of the whole plot. *Malabar*, the hero of the mysteries, *La Tour*, *Fresine*, and about thirty more conspirators, were arrested; even *Eustace* was among the prisoners, and all true citi-

* Extract of a Secret Memorial, written a few months before the invasion of Holland.

zens thought themſelves delivered from the Jacobin ſcourge. Proclamations were iſſued, forbidding any meetings of clubs under any pretext whatever; but, in defiance of the magiſtrates, the clubiſts publiſh a counter-proclamation, inviting the brethren to take arms and rather to die than abandon their clubs. In vain does the Engliſh general demand that theſe perſons ſhould be delivered up to him, that he might ſecure their perſons; the Sect even ſucceeded in getting the American miniſter to reclaim Euſtace, under pretence that he was a ſubject of the United States. The others are brought to trial, and are condemned to be exiled into thoſe very towns by which the Jacobin army was to enter the republic, and Willemſtadt, Breda, Berzenopzoom, Nimeguen, Gorcum, Utrecht, and Amſterdam, fall, juſt as Mayence had done before them. Moſt certainly, had Pichegru no other claims to military glory than this conqueſt, he might, with Dumourier and Cuſtine, write, '*I came, I ſaw, and I conquered*'; but it was becauſe, in place of enemies to combat, I found none but adepts to embrace.'*

In Spain.

Means of another ſpecies will explain the triumphs of the Sect in Spain. The brave RICARDO had reſtored the Caſtilians to their ancient valor; he had threatened to retaliate on the captive Jacobins, for the cruelties exerciſed on the French emigrants that fell into their hands. The *Aqua Tophana* immediately liberates the Sect from ſo fierce an enemy; he dies by poiſon. The bulwarks of Spain fall like thoſe of Holland at the approach of the legions of *Equality and Liberty*. REDDELEON ſells the fortreſs of *Figueras* for a million of livres. He values his treaſon too highly, and going to Paris he receives his million in aſſignats, then only worth 48,000 livres. He complains, and in compenſation is ſent to the guillotine, for the Sect need not buy traitors at ſo exorbitant a price. His treachery, however, left Spain at the diſcretion of the Jacobins. That unhappy country ſought to buy peace, and for a time it is ſuffered to enjoy a truce; but every thing ſeems to denote, that the brethren have made a ſufficient progreſs to leave the taſk of eſtabliſhing the reign of Equality and Liberty to the adepts of the interior, without reſorting to arms.

In Portugal.

In Portugal the adepts dare not as yet throw off the

* Extract of a Secret Memorial.

maſk; but at ſome future day the Court may judge proper to publiſh the correſpondence found among the papers of the Brabanter *Segre*. This propagandiſt had been thrown into the priſons of Liſbon. The brethren had not forgotten the doctrine of the *patet exitus*; they ſend a mattreſs to the priſoner, and a razor is concealed within it. The wretched Segre underſtands the meaning of the Sect, and the next morning is found weltering in his blood on this very mattreſs.

It tranſpired, however, that the conſpiracy in which he had engaged aimed at nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the royal family, and the total overthrow of the ſtate. It was further aſſerted that a correſpondence between him and the *Prince of Peace* was found among his papers, and that the Spaniſh miniſter, informed of his arreſt immediately claimed it; but the court of Portugal returned for anſwer, "That ſince God had in his goodneſs preſerved the ſtate from the greateſt misfortune with which it had ever been threatened, her Moſt Faithful Majeſty would only treat of this buſineſs with his Catholic Majeſty himſelf." But even ſhould this fact be well authenticated, are we not ſufficiently aware of the intrigues of the Sect? Does it not frequently procure ſecret commiſſions from miniſters, and then, under pretence of tranſacting the buſineſs of that ſtate, proſecute the moſt villanous plots? It is ſufficient for us to have ſhewn the Sect conſpiring in Portugal; the public papers deſcribe it as conſpiring in like manner at Turin and at Naples.

At Naples. Here again the ſecrecy of courts has debarred us from the details. At Naples atteſtations were taken reſpecting the guilty, and the proofs were acquired. By the orders of his Majeſty, all the documents relating to the conſpiracy had been collected and compiled by a magiſtrate of great merit and known integrity, Mr. REY, the ſame perſon whom Lewis XVI. had intended for miniſter of the police of Paris. From theſe it appeared, that many noblemen had been led to join in a conſpiracy againſt the royal family, while the occult adepts of this conſpiracy were to make away with theſe ſame noblemen, immediately after the deſtruction of the royal family. The King and the Queen of Naples both choſe to ſhow their clemency to the chief conſpirators, and rather let them preſerve life in confinement, than ſend them to the ſcaffold which muſt have been the inevitable conſequence of a public trial.—

The policy that has buried in darkneſs the details of this conſpiracy, has not, however, deprived us of this proof of the univerſality of the conſpiracies of the Sect.

In purſuit of its plans, the Sect marches triumphantly to Milan, Venice and Rome. Its armies entered Italy in all ſtate with Buonaparte, even more deſtitute of every thing that can enſure victory, than thoſe which had entered Germany under the command of Cuſtine. But numerous legions flocked to their ſtandards; and the banks of the Po, if we except Mantua, are as well prepared for the revolution as were thoſe of the Rhine. This will ceaſe to be a matter of of ſurpriſe to thoſe who will reflect that Weiſhaupt had ſent his apoſtles thither, and that Knigge and Zimmerman had long ſince boaſted of the progreſs of the illuminizing recruiters in thoſe parts. If we turn back to their reports, we ſhall find that the Maſonic Lodges had, like thoſe of Germany, been initiated into the laſt myſteries; and the triumphs of Buonaparte will be found to be not more aſtoniſhing than thoſe of Cuſtine. Were it neceſſary to explain how the valor of the Archduke Charles, or of the veteran bands of Auſtria, was rendered fruitleſs when in preſence of the Jacobin troops; whence it aroſe that the faſtneſſes of countries could ſcarcely ſerve the wiſdom of a prince ſo worthy of being the leader of heroes; it would not be ſufficient to ſay, that the adjutant-general *Fiſher* was accuſed of having received one thouſand pounds a month from the Pentarques; or, that, to ſtifle all proſecution, and baffle any attempt that might be made to induce him to diſcover the number or quality of his accomplices, he had recourſe to that grand means of Illuminiſm the *Patet exitus*, and poiſoned himſelf. No; the reader muſt reflect, that the Sect had long ſince been educating its adepts for the armies, procuring poſſeſſion of the *Dicaſteres*, and thus preparing for a future day, when they foreſaw that treachery and cowardice would ſerve them in the armies of princes.* In all ſtate with the armies of princes.

* Juſt as this ſheet was going to the preſs a publication, entitled, *Les Nouveaux Interets de l'Europe*, fell into my hands, and the following paſſage appeared to me ſo very applicable to our ſubject, that I have extracted it: "The Emperor has been "blamed for ſigning the preliminaries of Leoben, on the 18th "of April, 1798. This certainly appears to have been done "precipitately: but are thoſe who blame him acquainted with

At Rome. Need we explain why the revolutionary legions proceeded to Rome? Certainly but little reſiſtance could be made there. An aged pontiff raiſing up his hands to heaven, offering up his prayers for the peace and welfare of the faithful, makes every ſacrifice that of his faith excepted, in hopes of mollifying the obdurate hearts of thoſe barbarians. Buonaparte, no ſtranger to his virtues feigns a veneration for them. But Pius VI. is the chief of that religion of Chriſt which the Sect has ſworn to cruſh, and Rome is the centre of it.* From the very firſt moment

" the reaſons that induced him to take that ſtep? The Empe-
" ror had been informed by *his Brother, the Archduke Charles,*
" *of the bad diſpoſition of a great part of the officers of his ar-*
" *my of Italy. He knew that both at Verona and Padua they*
" *affected to imitate the French in their diſcourſe, manners,*
" *and ſentiments; it ſeemed as if they needed but the tri-colour-*
" *ed cockade to make the ſemblance complete. He was aware*
" *that they ſled in the moſt critical moment of an action; ſo that,*
" *in ſpite of excellent generals, of a well appointed ſtaff, and of*
" *the braveſt men, he was always obliged to retire.* He may,
" perhaps, have conceived that he was betrayed by theſe ſame
" officers: for it is well known, that Buonaparte, in an unguard-
" ed moment, declared, *that the Auſtrian army coſt him more*
" *than his own.*" TRANS.

* When the Author publiſhed his Firſt Volume, or Anti-chriſtian Conſpiracy, in the beginning of 1797, and poſitively declared, " *the total overthrow of Chriſtianity* to be the object " of the Sect," his aſſertion was much cavilled at by thoſe who were eager that this nation ſhould not give credit to an author who was about to lay open the tenebrous ramifications of this univerſal conſpiracy; others again were made to believe, that the Sect only aimed at reforming what they choſe to ſtyle the errors of the Church of Rome. I here call my reader's attention to an event that has juſt taken place, and he may then judge whether the author was correct when he ſaid, *that the total overthrow of Chriſtianity* was the object of the Sect. In the *Propagateur*, 6 *Brumaire*, *Year* 7 (or 15th October 1798), we read, " The following is the diſtribution of the edifices (of " worſhip) for the uſe of the citizens of Paris, as determined " by the central adminiſtration of the Seine." Paris is divided into twelve Wards, in lieu of pariſhes, each having the following churches annexed to them, and which are in future to be called *Temples*: " Iſt. Ward—The church of St. Philip du " Roule *conſecrated to Concord*. II. The church of St. Roche " *to Genius*. III. St. Euſtache *to Agriculture*. IV. St. Germain " L'Auxerrois *to Gratitude*. V. St. Lawrance *to Old Age*. " VI. St. Nicholas in the Fields *to Hymen*. VII. St. Merry *to* " *Commerce*. VIII. St. Margaret *to* EQUALITY *and* LIBERTY. " IX. St. Gervais *to Youth*. X. St. Thomas of Aquin as *to*

of the revolution the adepts had made no ſecret of their hatred againſt Rome and its pontiff. I was preſent when Cerrutti inſolently accoſted the Secretary of the Nuncio at Paris, ſaying with a ſneer, "Take good care of your "Pope; take good care of this one, and embalm him af- "ter his death; for I tell you, and you may be certain of "the fact, that you will never have another." This pretender to prophecy little thought that he would be the firſt of the two to appear before the tribunal of that God who had promiſed that the gates of hell ſhould never prevail againſt his church. But the Knights-*Kadoſch*, who had ſworn the death of Kings and of the chief Pontiffs, ſtill ſurvived; as alſo that multitude of adepts who had long ſince been ſmoothing the way for the legions of impiety. Long ſince had Rome been the object of their conſpiracies; adepts of every ſpecies flock thither; and, in ſpite of every authority, the pupils of Caglioſtro open their Maſonic Lodges in that capital. The Illuminees of Sweden, Avignon, and Lyons, there unite in the moſt ſecret and moſt monſtrous of Lodges, and form the moſt terrible tribunal for Kings; that, in ſhort, which pointed out the Sovereign that was to fall, named the aſſaſſin, prepared the poiſons, or ſharpened the dagger.*

Many of Weiſhaupt's adepts were alſo to be found in Rome who had been initiated by Zimmerman; and the repreſentative of a King ſeconds their efforts againſt the altar. The Spaniſh Monarch is tottering on the throne, at the very time when the public papers deſcribe DOM AZARA, his ambaſſador at Rome, felicitating the Jaco-

"*Peace*. XI. St. Sulpice *to Victory*. XII. St. James-du-haut- "pas *to Benevolence*, St. Medard *to Labor*, and St. Stephen on "the Mount *to filial Piety*." This needs no comment, when in the hands of a Chriſtian reader. TRANS.

* Should the hiſtorian of the aſſaſſination of Guſtavus of Sweden not be a ſufficient voucher for the exiſtence of this tribunal (*Sect. IV.*) it is, however, an undoubted fact, that the Sect had moſt powerful advocates at Rome; for the Nuncio at Avignon, having ordered the Illuminee *Pernetti* and his adepts to leave the country in the ſpace of one month, they procured from Rome a counter-order (real or forged) permitting them to ſtay. This buſineſs was followed up at Rome by the arreſtation of an adept, which threw the adepts of Avignon into fears that were only removed by the revolution.

bins on their coming to drive the Sovereign Pontiff from his capital. Buonaparte may send his Lieutenants; their triumph will be easy, for shame alone could impede their progress; but they have stifled every feeling, and scoff at the very idea of the rights of nations, as well as at the overwhelming with affliction an aged pastor turned of fourscore. The upright man and compassionate heart might shed tears at such a sight; but the Jacobin, callous to every feeling, will leap with joy, and the Pentarques will compare their ignominious conquest to the storming of ancient Rome by Brennus and his Gauls. Next in the series we shall turn our eyes to a conquest long since announced in the Lodges of the Templars, Rosicrucians and Knights Kadosch, who had all sworn vengeance against Malta; and the fatal day is now come.

At Malta. Left indignation might cause their secrets to be discovered, the cross of Malta had for a long time been a badge of exclusion for those bold Knights from the threshold of the Masonic Lodges. New arts will be now employed to render their courage useless. The adepts have made use of the same artifice against Malta which they had employed against the church. So far, said they, from breaking off all connection with these Knights, let our adepts become members of the Order; through their means we shall become masters of that Island that would proudly bid defiance to our combined hostile efforts both by sea and land. Letters from the virtuous and honorable part of that community had already prepared us for the catastrophe that has since befallen them; they had complained that false brethren, particularly of the Spanish and Italian tongues, had gained admittance among them. In the persons of *Dolomieu*, *Bosredon*, and the cowardly *Hompesch*, may the Sect be said to have reigned. Buonaparte appears; and, as if the Sect wished to shew Europe how it can carry the most astonishing works of nature and art by treason alone, it did not even give the conspirators a cloak for their treachery by the semblance of a siege.—The adepts of the exterior fraternize with those of the interior, and thus do we learn that the secret arms of the Sect are more terrible than the fire of the embattled legions. Let the hero of Malta set sail for Alexandria: There he will also find adepts that await his arrival: Then will the Sublime Porte learn how to value those rich presents sent by the revolutionary tribe, all stolen from the royal trea-

fury of the crown; it will understand why such immense sums of money were squandered in its capital, to buy the neutrality of the Divan, and thus to enable the Sect to wrest from its dominion its more distant provinces: It will learn that the Apostles of the Sect were, during its political lethargy, stealing along the coasts of Africa, and penetrating even into Asia.

At Constantinople and in the East.

It was at Constantinople particularly that the Sect was to be careful in the choice of its adepts and propagandists, and to adapt each person's mission to his talents. To spread the doctrines of Equality and Liberty throughout the states that had long since been subjected to the dominion of the Crescent, it was necessary to find men well acquainted with the language, manners, interests, and the various intercourse of those different nations. In the person of the author of the *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, or *Mouradgea d'Hobson*, a Greek by birth, formerly internuncio, and since ambassador from Sweden to the Sublime Porte, the Sect found all the requisites for such an undertaking. At first, he did not appear to be sanguine in their cause; large sums of money, and pensions then at the disposition of the *Committee of Public Safety*, (as we are informed by our Memoirs) at length dispel any further show of reluctance: On his return to Constantinople, Mouradgea places himself at the head of the Jacobin missionaries for the East. He was greatly indebted for the acquirements that had thus prepared him for this new revolutionary career to a Mr. *Ruffin*, who commenced his career as a teacher of languages in Paris; was afterwards an associate with the Baron Tott in Crimea; then attached to the French embassy at Constantinople; afterwards employed in the Admiralty at Versailles; and finally become Professor of the Oriental Tongues at the *College Royal*. For a long time Mr. Ruffin resisted every temptation to betray the Royal cause; for he was indebted to the king for his education, and for his elevation to be Knight of the Order of St. Michael. Similar inducements, however, make him forget his obligations to his king, and he becomes the co-adept of Mouradgea at Constantinople. *Lesseps* a young man, and one of the few survivors of La Perouse, was also animated by sentiments of gratitude for Lewis XVI.; but, seduced by the two apostles, he joins them, and, under the direction of this triumvirate, one part of the subaltern agents disseminate

their doctrines among the people of Conſtantinople, while others ſpread themſelves throughout Aſia, travel into Perſia, and to the Indies. Others again preach their rights of man in the Levant, while the united forces of the Sect make their deſcent on the coaſt of Egypt, and teach the Ottoman court the fatal effects of having neglected to cruſh the firſt dawnings of the Sect.

But a very few years prior to the French revolution, the Turks abominated Maſonry, as much as the inhabitants of the Eaſt did the Manichæans for many centuries. The Ottoman court would not have ſuffered any French Religious to have remained at Jeruſalem, had it not known that it was their conſtant rule to refuſe to admit any perſon known to be a *Free-maſon* to viſit the holy places that were under their care. There was even an agreement between the Sublime Porte and the Court of France, by which the Superior of theſe Religious might and was obliged to diſmiſs from the Levant any French Conſul that ſhould dare to erect a Maſonic Lodge; and I have learned from a Religious who was on that miſſion for ſeven years, that the Superior had ſometimes exerciſed this authority. But the revolution has annihilated ſuch precautions, as well as many others. The Propagandiſts have croſſed the Mediterranean with their new-fangled doctrines; they have found brethren in the French merchants, who, under pretence of meeting with friends in all countries, had got themſelves initiated in the myſteries, and hence they needed not Lodges to be recognized.

in Africa; The ſucceſſes of the brotherhood in France inflamed the zeal of the brethren in Africa; and the very manner in which the Directory announced the progreſs of Buonaparte in Egypt ſufficiently denotes the arts that had been employed by the emiſſaries of the Sect previous to his arrival. Should he not (like Pichegru) fall a victim to the jealouſy of the Pentarques, or (more lucky than Bruey*) eſcape the purſuits of a ſecond Nelſon, he will on the coaſt of India meet with other brethren, who, in the Malabar tongue are circulating the *Rights of Man*, *Equal and Free*, and thoſe of the *Sovereign and Legiſlative People*. The Engliſh General who took Pondicherry ſeized both the types and preſſes employed in diſſeminating the principles of the Sect and their revolutionary productions.

As the plague flies on the wings of the wind, ſo do

their triumphant legions infect America. Their apoſtles have infuſed their principles into the ſubmiſſive and laborious negroes; and St. Domingo and Guadaloupe have been converted into vaſt charnel houſes for their inhabitants. So numerous were the brethren in North America, that Philadelphia and Boſton trembled, leſt their *riſing conſtitution ſhould be obliged to make way for that of the great club*; and if for a time the brotherhood has been obliged to ſhrink back into their hiding places; they are ſtill ſufficiently numerous to raiſe collections and tranſmit them to the inſurgents of Ireland; thus contributing towards that ſpecies of revolution which is the object of their ardent wiſhes in America.* God grant that the United States may not learn to their coſt, that Republics are equally menaced with Monarchies; and that the immenſity of the ocean is but a feeble barrier againſt the univerſal conſpiracy of the Sect!

The triumphs of the brotherhood at Geneva, at Venice, in Holland, and at Genoa, are demonſtrative proofs that it is not at Monarchs alone that the adepts of the Sect aim their blows. Nations muſt alſo learn, that, whether Monarchies or Republics, they are all to be comprehended within the revolutionary vortex; and that neither friendſhip, alliance, nor the moſt paſſive obedience, can make the ſavage conſpirators relent.

In vain did the Swiſs Cantons in ſome ſort forget the dignity of their anceſtors; they were ſilent under the humiliating treatment of their brethren at Aix, the butchery of their troops at Paris, and the violation of the moſt in Switzerland;

* See Iriſh Report, No. XIV.—At Quebec, July 7, 1797, a man of the name of *David M'Lean* was tried and condemned to ſuffer on the 21ſt of the ſame month, being convicted of having come into Canada, under the diſguiſe of a merchant, with a view of raiſing the people againſt the Government, and to deliver over the colony to the French. He had taken all the neceſſary ſteps; the oath of ſecrecy, pikes, and other arms, were to be delivered to the people. The brethren at Montreal and Quebec were by the next ſpring to prepare the way for an army of 10,000 men that was to be brought over in a French fleet, and attack both theſe towns at the ſame time. Mr. Adet, the French miniſter at Philadelphia, was implicated in it; thus do the Pentarques convert their embaſſadors into the ring-leaders of the conſpiring bands wherever they are received; this may be ſaid to be one of the marking features of Jacobiniſm.

ſacred treaties even on their own territories. They bore with reſignation the inſults perpetually offered to them by the Jacobin dictators, who would ſometimes deign to mingle aſſurances of fraternity and promiſes of peace with their outrages. While the armies of the Sect were ravaging the neighboring countries, it would lull the credulous Swiſs into a fatal ſecurity by their cant of fraternity and affection; but in the mean time the adepts were laboring in the mountains. Weiſhaupt had made many converts in thoſe parts; and a ſwarm of Illuminees flocked thither from *the Univerſity of Gottingen*, all ready to proſecute the views of the Sect. *Fehr*, curate of Nidau, and after him *Bugg*, correſponded with the brotherhood in Germany; and the moment was approaching when he was about to receive the price of his zeal by being elected chief of the revolutionized Canton of Argau.*—At Lucern *Pfiffer*, at Berne *Weiſs*, at Baſle *Ochs*, preſided over the clubs of Equality and Liberty. By various artifices, the Jacobins had formed a party of ninety-two in the great council of Berne. The Pentarque Rewbel ſent as auxiliaries from Paris, *Maingaud*, *Mangourit*, and *Guyot*; and in Switzerland (as in Holland and at Mayence) ſecret correſpondence and ſecret ſocieties were preparing the way for the armies of the Sect. Thus was the fate of Switzerland to be ſimilar, and an equal ſhare of glory to redound to the victors.†

in Sweden; Yet there are monarchies ſtill in exiſtence, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Sect. True; but, if we except Denmark, whoſe neutrality appears to be of too great ſervice to the Sect, for it to think of deſtroying that kingdom at preſent, what other country is there in Europe that has not been expoſed to the machinations of the Sect? Guſtavus III. fell beneath the blows of an Ankarſtroem; but this aſſaſſin had come from the great Pariſian club. Thoſe very perſons who wiſh to iſolate this murder tell us, that adepts had declared, that *they knew of the projected murder of Guſtavus beforehand, and that all Europe knew of it.* Who are theſe men that were ſo well informed throughout Europe, if not thoſe adepts to whom the Sect has made known their determinations againſt a Prince whoſe activity could give them little

* Private Notes on Switzerland.

† See the Hiſtory of this Revolution by Mallet du Pan.

hopes of retrograde movements when he was about to fight the enemies of monarchy? When thoſe ſame writers caſt ſuſpicions on the Duke of *Sudermania*, they ground their attack on his being *Grand Maſter of the Swediſh Lodges*, as Orleans was in France. They further ſubſtantiate their charge on the multitude of illuminized Maſons that are ſpread all over Sweden, and on the horror of their myſteries. Is not that telling us, that Ankarſtroem was but a mere inſtrument of the Sect, which, in recompence for his regicide, erected ſtatues to him in the Club of the Jacobins? I will hereafter ſhow that the adepts had previous knowledge of this foul deed, and that it had even been clearly expreſſed in the public papers. But at preſent let us turn our eyes toward Ruſſia.

On the death of Lewis XVI. the Empreſs of Ruſſia or- In Ruſſia;
dered that all the French within her dominions ſhould take the oath of fidelity to the lawful heir of the Bourbons, and renounce all connection with France until monarchy was reſtored; but this was a fruitleſs precaution. The Sect had many adepts in Ruſſia, whom it had taught to ſcoff at oaths;* and they only took the oath of fidelity to the monarchy, that they might the more eaſily annihilate the Ruſſian diadem. The conſpirators were headed by *Genet*, heretofore the agent for the cabinet of Verſailles, but now become the agent of the Jacobins. The zeal with which he ſerved his new maſters had already filled Peterſburg with clubs compoſed of that ſpecies of men who, having no homes in their own country, travel to foreign parts in hopes of gaining a livelihood. Hair-dreſſers, Cooks, Valets, Bankrupts, Teachers of the French Tongue, and Street-porters from Paris, all were combining together to prepare a pike revolution. The moſt artful and moſt violent of the conſpirators daringly held their meetings in the Hotel of *Sir Charles Whitworth*, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Peterſburg. They met there once

* Knigge's apoſtles in Courland and Livonia had, doubtleſs, extended their miſſion; and a Ruſſian gentleman informed me, that one of the great adepts preſided over an academy at Moſcow where the young Nobility were educated. Every thing ſeemed to denote an excellent ſchool, when by degrees it was obſerved, that the illuminized Rights of Man was the groundwork of the ſecret leſſons of this great teacher. They were obliged to diſmiſs him, as the only means of reſtoring his pupils to the true principles of religion and ſociety.

a month by means of three French ſervants, who had been recommended to Sir Charles by ſome of the party as moſt excellent characters. Public fame, and ſoon after the Ambaſſador, informed the Police of this meeting. On making enquiries after the adepts, and on ſeizing their papers that had been carefully hidden, it was diſcovered, that their plot had been contrived according to the general plan and views of the Sect. At Rome, the brotherhood, had made uſe of an Ambaſſador of the King of Spain; in Ruſſia, it is the Secretary of Embaſſy and *Chargé d'Affaires* from the Court of Sardinia, a Mr. *Boſſi*, who is implicated in their foul projects. The adepts were baniſhed, according to the laws of Ruſſia. The diplomatic character of Mr. Boſſi ſaved him for ſome time from a ſimilar diſgrace; but no ſooner was the Czar Paul ſeated on the throne, than he received orders to quit Peterſburg in twenty-four hours, and the territories of his Imperial Majeſty with all poſſible ſpeed.*

In Poland. I ſhall not dwell long on the labors of the Sect in Poland. Among the number of its Apoſtles, I might name *Bonneau*, who was ſent to Siberia; *Duveyrier*, who wrote the *Proces Verbaux* at Paris for La Fayette, and who was diſcovered at Copenhagen on a ſuppoſed miſſion for buying corn, while his real object was to viſit the brethren of Poland and Ruſſia, to ſtimulate them; and our Memoirs inform us, that on the road he was to make an attempt on the life of the Count Artois, juſt as the German adepts have ſince done on that of Lewis XVIII. Duveyrier was accompanied by one *Lamarre*, and that *Caſtella* ſince arreſted in company with *Semonville* when proceeding to Conſtantinople with the plunder of the French crown, in hopes of bribing the miniſters of that country. But to give my reader an idea of the multitude of miſſionaries employed by the Sect in Poland, it will ſuffice to advert to *Cambon's* report, where he owns that it has already coſt France *ſixty millions* of livres to ſupport the brethren at Warſaw. This avowal ſhows how the Sect employs the public revenues, little caring whether the creditors of the interior are paid, and ſending its viſible legions to live on contributions levied on the exterior, while it largely pays that crowd of inviſible adepts and ſecret emiſſaries who prepare the way for its triumphs.

* Extract from a Memorial on Ruſſia.

This alſo demonſtrates what great ſtreſs the leaders of the Sect laid on the projected revolution in Poland; and, indeed, had they ſucceeded in revolutionizing that country, the Jacobins might have made a ſtrong diverſion on the very territories of the moſt formidable powers that had entered into the coalition. Equality and Liberty would have infuſed itſelf throughout Ruſſia with much greater facility. The Pruſſian and Auſtrian brethren began to ſhow themſelves more openly. Their hopes already ſeemed to be crowned with ſucceſs; Koſkiuſko had excited to revolt Warſaw, Wilna, and Lublin. The biſhop of this latter place, with many other gentlemen, had been hanged; in vain had the unfortunate Poniatowſki endeavored to allay the ferocity of the revolution; Poland was advancing rapidly towards its end, and it finiſhed by loſing both its king and its independence. My object is not even to hint an opinion on the conduct of the powers who have divided that country among themſelves, but to point out the univerſal conſpiracy of the Sect. Germany, which gave birth to the moſt profound adepts of the Sect, has already ſeverely felt the effects of its treachery, but has not yet met the fate which the Sect is preparing for it.

In Auſtria.

Joſeph II. lived long enough to deplore his miſerable policy. He was lamenting his philoſophiſm, and that deteſtable policy that had induced him to trouble the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the enjoyment of their religion, thus breaking the moſt ſolemn treaties and driving to deſpair ſubjects who deſerved a better fate, when the manifeſto of the *Grand Orient* came to teach him, that his policy had been juſt as erroneous in protecting the Maſonic Lodges. If credit is to be given to *Kleiner's Report*, or at leaſt to the extract from it given me by a nobleman of undoubted veracity, it was in conſequence of this manifeſto that Joſeph II. gave orders to *Kleiner* to get himſelf initiated into the illuminized Lodges, and by this means acquired certain knowledge of the Occult Myſteries of the Sect. He then learnt, that the Swediſh adepts had preciſely the ſame object in view as the offſpring of the modern *Spartacus*; and the Maſonic Lodges were the cloaks for both of them. I have learned from a perſon who was frequently in company with the Emperor, that nothing could equal his vexation, when he ſaw that he had been ſo ſtrangely impoſed upon by men whom he had favored, or when he diſcovered that, *ſo far from*

having himself named perſons to the different charges of the ſtate, he had only adopted the choices made by the Sect. He then openly declared, that the Free-maſons were nothing more than a ſet of ſharpers and jugglers; he went ſo far as to attribute all the thefts that had been committed on the treaſury of the ſtate to the Occult Maſons; he determined to exclude them from every employment civil and military; he was indignant at ſeeing an *imperium in imperio* riſing in the ſtate. He would have followed up his indignation too, had he not learnt that many of his moſt faithful ſubjects, and ſome even for whom he had the greateſt regard, ſuch as the Prince *Lichtenſtein*, were Maſons. The greater part of theſe, however, renounced Maſonry. Joſeph had undertaken to deſtroy the Lodges and repair the errors of his philoſophiſm, when a premature death put a period to his reign.

Leopold his ſucceſſor, wiſhing to be informed of the nature and progreſs of the Sect in his new territories, applied to Profeſſor Hoffman. No man was better able than he was to give the deſired information, for he had been tampered with by the Sect, who, writing to him in the moſt high-flown phraſes, endeavored to ſeduce him over to the cauſe of the revolution; but, on the other ſide, ſeveral Maſons, *aſhamed of having fallen a prey to the ſeduction of the Illuminees, had diſcovered moſt important ſecrets to him*, and joined with him in baffling the views of the Sect. He had learned from them, " that Mirabeau " himſelf had declared to his confidants, *that he carried* " *on a moſt extenſive correſpondence with Germany, but* " *in no part ſo extenſive as at Vienna.* He knew that the " revolutionary ſyſtem was to be extended throughout the " univerſe; that France had only been choſen as the ſcene " of a firſt exploſion; that the propagandiſts were buſied " in diſſeminating their principles throughout every clim- " ate; that emiſſaries were diſperſed through the four " quarters of the globe, and particularly in the capitals; " that they had their adherents, and were particularly ac- " tive in ſtrengthening their party at *Vienna* and *in the* " *Auſtrian dominions.*—In 1791 he had read, as ſeveral " other perſons alſo did, two letters, the one from Paris, " the other from Straſbourg, *deſcribing in cypher the names* " *of ſeven commiſſaries of the Propaganda then reſident* " *at Vienna, and to whom the new commiſſaries were to* " *apply, as well for the wages of their labors, as for in-*

" *ſtructions how to proceed.*—He had alſo ſeen ſeveral of " thoſe manuſcript news-papers that were ſent weekly " from Vienna, replete with the moſt abominable anec- " dotes againſt the court, and with arguments and prin- " ciples impugning the government.—Theſe papers were " to contribute toward the diſſemination of Jacobiniſm " throughout the towns and villages of the empire, and even " in foreign countries, as they were ſent poſt free, and with- " out even the ſubſcription being aſked for. He had even " tranſmitted ſome of theſe letters to government. He had " diſcovered the object of the frequent journeys of the Il- " luminee *Campe* to Paris, and his correſpondence with " Mirabeau and Orleans. He had acquired *certain know-* " *ledge* of the plans of the German Mirabeau," that is to ſay, of Mauvillon, who had been Mirabeau's Inſinuator, and the ſame perſon who had written thus to the Illuminee *Cuhn* [the letter is preſerved in the archives at Brunswick:] " *The affairs of the revolution go on better and* " *better in France; I hope that in a few years this flame* " *will be lit up every where, and that the conflagration* " *will become univerſal.* THEN OUR ORDER *may do* " *great things.*"* Mr. Hoffman alſo knew that this very Mauvillon " had drawn up a very explicit plan for the " revolutionizing of all Germany; that this plan had been " tranſmitted to the greater part of the Maſonic Lodges, " and to the clubs of the Illuminees; and that it was cir- " culated among the Propagandiſts and emiſſaries, who " were already employed in exciting to revolt the people " on the out-poſts and frontiers of Germany."† While this zealous citizen was thus unfolding to Leopold the intrigues of the Sect, he correſponded with the Great ZIMMERMAN of Bern, who was ever revered by the learned, beloved by all good citizens, and only hated by the illuminizing Jacobins, becauſe he no ſooner became acquainted with their myſteries than he warned the Society of their dangerous tendency. This learned man was alſo employed in compoſing a memorial for the uſe of the emperor, on the means of curbing the progreſs of the revolution;‡ but the Jacobins were aware of the hatred that Leopold had conceived for them. They knew that the

* June 1791.

† Important notice by Hoffman, Vol. I. Sect. 19.

‡ Hoffman's Letter in the Eudemonia, Vol. VI. No. 2.

chief inſtigator of the treaty of Pilnitz was as much to be feared as Guſtavus; *and they were determined to ſhow that even an Emperor ſhould not oppoſe their plots with impunity.**

Juſt at the time when the two ſovereigns were making their preparations, the King of Pruſſia had recalled from Vienna his ambaſſador, the *Baron Jacobi Kloeſt*, who, as the Sect ſuppoſed, was favorable to their cauſe.—The *Count Haugwits*, who was more decidedly a friend to the meaſure of the treaty, was ſent in his ſtead. The journaliſts of Straſbourg announced this news with the following comment: "Hence politicians pretend, that the union between the two courts will be conſolidated. They "are certainly in the right to make the French believe ſo; "but in deſpotic countries, in *thoſe countries where the "fate of ſeveral millions of men hangs on a bit of paſte, "or on the rupture of a little vein, one can calculate on "nothing.* Let us ſuppoſe that the court of Pruſſia acting honeſtly in concert with the court of Auſtria (which "is difficult to be believed), or that the court of Auſtria "is acting ſo with that of Pruſſia (which is ſtill more incredible), *a ſingle indigeſtion, or a drop of blood forced "from its proper veſſels, will be ſufficient to diſſolve this "brilliant union.*"——This comment in the *Courier of Straſbourg*, No. 53, was dated from Vienna, *the 26th of February*, 1792. Leopold died (poiſoned) on *the 1ſt of March* following, and Guſtavus was aſſaſſinated in the night between the 15th and 16th of the ſame month.†

The firſt precaution taken by his young ſucceſſor was to diſmiſs all the Italian cooks, that he might not be expoſed to the ſame fate as his father, and fall a victim to what is called the *Naples broth*. More zealous in the cauſe, Francis II. not only oppoſed the Sect by force of arms, but, in order to attack illuminiſm in its dark receſſes, he applied to the diet of Ratiſbon in 1794, for a decree to ſuppreſs all ſecret ſocieties, whether Maſons, Roſicrucians, or Illuminees, of every ſort. They had powerful ſupporters in this firſt council of the Empire, and they intrigued againſt the propoſition of the Emperor. They pretended that theſe bodies of Illuminees were nothing more than little aſſociations of ſchool-boys, that were very common

* Important notice by Hoffman.

† Travels of two Frenchmen in the North, Vol. V. ch. 12.

in the Proteſtant univerſities.—Through the organs of the Pruſſian, Hanoverian, and Brunſwick miniſters it was objected, that the Emperor was at liberty to forbid theſe different lodges within his own ſtates; but that, with reſpect to all others, they could not attempt to curtail the Germanic liberty. All that the Emperor could obtain was a decree for the abolition of thoſe aſſociations of ſchool-boys. This decree not only left the great adepts in full poſſeſſion of their lodges, but was alſo unattended to in moſt of the colleges, where Illuminiſm continued to make the moſt awful progreſs.*

* So late as February laſt (1798) the magiſtrates of Jena, were obliged to puniſh about a dozen ſcholars, who, formed into an aſſociation calling themſelves *Amiciſts*, were under the direction of the adepts. To prepare theſe youths for the myſteries of Illuminiſm, their ſecret ſuperiors repreſented the oath appropriated to this aſſociation as the moſt ſacred engagement that could be taken and the leaſt violation of it as being immediately followed by the moſt terrible puniſhments.—They were then queſtioned, whether they were ſufficiently enlightened to believe that they could, *without ſcruple*, break the oath which they had ſworn to the ſuperior of the college, never to engage in any ſecret ſociety;—whether they believed themſelves ſufficiently virtuous to accuſe themſelves alone, and no other perſon, in caſe the magiſtrates ſhould puniſh them for a breach of that oath;—whether they thought themſelves ſufficiently courageous to continue in the aſſociation, though they ſhould be compelled to abjure it.—The Illuminee who had queſtioned them, if ſatisfied with their anſwers, gave them the Code of the *Amiciſts*, and therein they learned that they and their aſſociates formed *a ſtate within the ſtate*; that they had *laws of their own* according to which they judged of affairs *that were beyond their ſphere*; and this required the moſt profound ſecrecy; that ſhould ſeveral of them hereafter meet in the ſame town, they ſhould eſtabliſh a lodge, and do all that lay in their power to propagate the ſociety; that if they were perchance to change their place of habitation (which ſhould be only done in ſome extraordinary caſe), they ſhould then correſpond with their own lodge, while the ſecretary was to hold correſpondence with the other lodges, making his return of the name, quality, and country of every new candidate; that they would obey the ſuperiors of the Order, ſuccor their brethren, and procure advancement for them; in ſhort, they were *to be ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Order*.

Several of theſe young *Amiciſts*, which of all the different aſſociations was ſuppoſed to be the moſt innocent, refuſed to give the liſt of the brethren, leſt they might be inculpated.—They, however, declared that the Order comprehended many *men of quality and of high honor, magiſtrates and perſons in of-*

While the young Emperor was thus endeavoring to counteract the plots of the Sect, it was conspiring in the very heart of the Austrian states to overturn the government. By the death of the *Chevalier de Born* the Sect had lost at Vienna one of its chief adepts; this gentleman was powerfully rich, yet at his death nothing but immense debts appeared, in consequence of the sums he had spent on the propagandists. Two other adepts, as zealous at the least, and far more enterprizing, had succeeded him. HEBENSTREIT the *Lieutenant de place* at Vi-

fice. (See the Minutes of the Judgment, or the Staats un gelehrte zeitung *of Hamburgh,* No. 45, 13th of March.

Supposing that the reader may wish to know in what state young men came from these Lodges and Colleges, I will here quote an an example from the notes I have received from Germany. "At the time I am writing this (July 13th 1794) at "the Baths, four leagues from Hanover, there resides here a "young man who arrived a few days since from the university "of Jena, where he was educated. It is the reigning Count "Plattenberg, one of the richest noblemen of Germany, aged "24, of Catholic parents, and a nephew of Prince Kaunitz, "the minister. In consequence of the principles imbibed by "this young Count at the university of Jena, he dresses in the "complete style of a democrat, and affects the uncouthness of "their manners. He would have his servant sit next to him "at the *table d'hote* but it was not permitted. This young "*Egalité* goes about singing the *Ca-ira* and *Marseillois Hymn*, "with other youths whom he gathers together. Don't let "this be taken in the light *of an anecdote only relating to a* "*thoughtless individual. His folly is the reigning folly of stu-*"*dents in all the universities of Germany; and this folly is the* "*produce of those doctrines taught by the professors, while go-*"*vernments pay no attention to them.*"

The same notes (and they are written by a Protestant) represent the *university of Halle* in Saxony, where the greater part of the King of Prussia's subjects go to finish their educations, as in a state similar to that of Jena. In April 1794 the chiefs of the commission of religion of Berlin, *M. M. Hermes and Hilmer*, went, by order of the King of Prussia, to visit the Lutheran college at Halle, and they disapproved of many things that were going on. The students received them with the cry of *Pereant* (let them perish), and obliged them to seek their safety in flight. Their ministers of religion are exposed to similar insults. Dogs are set at them when preaching, and indecencies take place in the churches that would not be suffered in the streets. "The *Illuminees themselves publish these abomina-*"*tions*, that their pupils the *Amicists* may be induced to act "in a similar manner." Such is the education of youth where the Sect predominates.

enna, was one; and the other was MEHALOVICH, an ex-capuchin of Croatia, whom Joſeph II. had imprudently taken from the cloiſters, and had given him a living in Hungary, in recompence for the diſpoſitions he had ſhown to ſecond the Emperor in his pretended reforms in the church. A number of other adepts had joined theſe two conſpirators, among whom we may diſtinguiſh the Captain *Billeck*, mathematical profeſſor at the Academy of Neuſtadt, the Lieutenant *Riedel*, the profeſſor of philoſophy *Branſtäter*, the ſtupid, but rich merchant, *Hackel*, and finally *Wolſtein*, one of thoſe adepts whom the Sect had contrived to ſend on a revolutionary miſſion throughout Europe at the Emperor's expenſe, under pretence of acquiring knowledge in the veterinary art, of which he has ſince been created profeſſor.

The reader may judge of the number and importance of the conſpirators by the plan that was agreed upon in 1795. Thro' their influence at court, they found means of forming a garriſon in Vienna of ſubſtantial and honeſt citizens little accuſtomed to bear arms. They had ſelected them from this claſs, and had got an order to compel them into this ſort of duty, under pretence of the imminent danger of the State. Always pretending that they had the orders of the Emperor, they treated theſe new-raiſed corps with unheard of ſeverity, in hopes of indiſpoſing them againſt the court by the time that their revolutionary plots ſhould be ready for execution. The populace was in their hands, and daily became more attached to their cauſe, in conſequence of their being excluded from the new-raiſed corps, and by making them partake of the large ſums diſtributed among a banditti who were to be put in poſſeſſion of the arſenal on the day of inſurrection. On that day the inſurrection was to be general, during which *Hebenſtreit*, followed by a banditti, was to ſecure the perſon of the Emperor; other detachments of the banditti were to take poſſeſſion of the arſenal, and poſt themſelves on the ramparts. The perſon of the Emperor being in their hands, the conſpirators were to oblige him to ſign *the Code of the Rights of Man*; that is to ſay, certain edicts ready prepared, by which the rights of all nobility and great proprietors were to be annulled; all were to be declared equal and free; and the ſovereignty of the people proclaimed. Theſe edicts were to be ſent into the Provinces in the name of the Emperor, juſt as if

he had enjoyed his liberty. Every outward appearance of reſpect for his perſon was to be preſerved; in ſhort, he was to have been treated juſt as the gaoler La Fayette had treated the unfortunate Lewis XVI. It is not known, whether the *Aqua Tophana* was to be adminiſtered in ſuch a doſe as to *kill*, or to *ſtupify*; it even appears, that the young prince was to be kept as a hoſtage; but in all cases, he was only to be reſtored to his freedom after the people had been well accuſtomed to the new reign of Equality and Liberty, and had acquired poſſeſſion of the eſtates of the Nobility in ſuch a manner that all reſtitution of property, or revival of the ancient conſtitution, would be rendered impoſſible. All the preparatory ſteps had been taken; the Catechiſms of the Rights of Man, and the moſt incendiary performances, had been profuſely diſperſed in the villages and cottages. Female adepts in the ſtyle of the adepts Necker and Stael made their appearance. The Counteſs of *Marchowich* diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the zeal ſhe ſhowed in diſtributing the new Catechiſm. The fatal day was drawing near, when a moſt ſingular circumſtance led to the diſcovery of the whole plot.

While the ex-capuchin Mehalovich was out one day, a domeſtic playing with one of his fellow-ſervants, took into his head to put on the capuchin habit which his maſter had preſerved among his cloaths, when all on a ſudden Mehalovich knocked at the houſe-door. The ſervant, who did not underſtand the nature of the habit, could not get it off again, ſo ſent his comrade to open the door, and hid himſelf under the bed. *Mehalovich* came in with *Hebenſtreit* and *Hackel*; they thought themſelves ſecure; the ſervant overheard their whole converſation; it related entirely to the conſpiracy that was to break out in three days. Hebenſtreit renewed the conſpirator's oath, on his ſword. Mehalovich took five hundred thouſand florins, which were hidden in a harpſichord, and gave them to him for the execution of the plan; and no ſooner did they leave the room, than the ſervant got from under the bed, and diſcovered the whole plot to the Miniſters of the State.

The councils were immediately called in conſequence of ſo important a diſcovery, and the chief conſpirators were arreſted on the day preceding the intended exploſion.—Hebenſtreit was hanged at Vienna; Mehalovich, with ſeven Hungarian gentlemen, his accomplices were behead-

ed at Preſburg; and many others were condemned to exile, or to perpetual impriſonment.

The King of Pruſſia had ſimilar conſpiracies to guard againſt at Berlin. The papers of *Leveller*-Leuchſering, which had been ſeized, had already warned William III. of the conſpiracy that was brewing in the Lodges; but in the month of November, 1792, a new plot was contriving. The ſignal agreed upon for the general inſurrection was, the ſetting fire to two houſes in different quarters of the town. On the day appointed the two houſes were really ſet on fire. The brethren expected that the troops in garriſon would be immediately ſent, as was customary, to extinguiſh the flames and keep order. While abſent from their poſts the rebels were to ſeize on them, and let their banditti looſe. Happily the Governor General Möllendorff had been informed of the plot. He commanded the troops to remain at their poſts; the conſpirators, finding their plans had been diſcovered, did not dare to ſhow themſelves. The incendiaries were arreſted, the plot failed, and William III. preſerved his Crown. In Pruſſia.

Having acquired certain knowledge of the views of the conſpirators, and of their connection with the French Jacobins, this Prince, as every reader would ſuppoſe, ought to have ſhewn more conſtancy in the cauſe of Royalty againſt Jacobiniſm. Court jealouſies, and differing intereſts, that perpetually keep the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin at variance, may have led him to agree to a pacification with the ſworn enemies of every power; but, on the other hand, it is difficult to account for the great ſway which thoſe very men muſt have had in his deciſions, whoſe diſorganizing principles he ſo much deteſted. The reader has ſeen the adepts of the modern *Spartacus* concealing themſelves in the Lodges of Maſonry; he has obſerved *Philo*-Knigge promiſing diſcoveries that would give the Sect ſovereign ſway over credulous minds. Unfortunately for Frederic William III. he had become a member of one of thoſe Lodges which the Illuminees, under the cloak of Roſicrucians, had converted into one of their theatres of impoſture; and the following is an account given me by a learned Proteſtant Miniſter, who had had frequent converſations with his Pruſſian Majeſty on the ſubject of Freemaſonry. He informs me, that to diveſt his Majeſty of any reſpect he might have for the Scripture, theſe Roſicrucians ſucceeded in making him believe that the Bible

and Gospel of the Christians were deficient; that a far superior doctrine was to be found in the *sacred books of Enoch and of Seth*, supposed to be lost, but which they pretended to have exclusively in their possession. Had it been possible to undeceive the king, the demonstrations adduced by our learned correspondent must have done so, since he invited his Majesty to read those pretended books of *Enoch* and *Seth*, or those apocryphal rhapsodies which these impostors offered to him as so precious, so secret, and so rare, but which had long since been printed in *Fabricius's Collection*. His Majesty seemed to be convinced of the imposture of these empirical mystifiers; but curiosity is weak, and the Rosicrucians regain their ascendency under the pretence of apparitions. So notorious was the credulity of the Prussian Monarch on this score, that in 1792, at the fair of Leipsic, were sold waistcoats called the *Berlin Jesus waistcoats (Berlinische Jesus westen)*, in memory of the brethren having on a sudden announced the apparition of Christ; and the King asking how he was dressed, they answered, *in a scarlet waistcoat, with black facings, and golden tresses*. If I am to credit what I have learnt through the same channel, William III. deserved to be imposed upon in so humiliating a manner; for the great influence these impostors had acquired over his mind, not only proceeding from their magic arts, but from their flattering his passions and propensity for the fair sex. They carried their impudence so far, as to tell him, that Christ *had granted him permission to have twelve wives at once.*

The most famous of his mistresses was a Madame de Reiz, afterwards created Countess of Lichtenau. Had the matters that appeared on her trial been made public, some light might have been thrown on her supposed understanding with the French Jacobins, from whom she is said to have received rich presents, and with *Bischofswerder*, who is now occupied, as we are told, in very different projects. We might then have learned how to reconcile that real hatred which William had conceived for the Jacobins, and the personal courage he has shown in combating them, with the peace he made precisely at the time when his armies could most efficaciously have co-operated for their destruction. But his successor has thought proper to commit to the flames the minutes of this trial, saying, that he would not read them, lest *persons, who might still be useful to him*, should be implicated in these in-

trigues. Some princes might have thought it prudent to read them, that they might learn who were the perſons that could ſtill do them much miſchief. Without pretending to comment on the deſtroying of this monument of hiſtory, we are happy to ſay that William IV. has inherited from his predeceſſor all his hatred for the Sect, without any of his weakneſſes. The Freemaſons of Berlin went ſo far as to aſk to have their Lodges confirmed by letters patent; but the King diſmiſſed them, ſaying, that in ſhowing ſuch a marked favor to them, he would be wanting in his duty to his other ſubjects, and that they would find protection as long as they did not trouble the public peace. The Maſons, we may be ſure, in return, promiſed to be moſt faithful ſubjects to his Majeſty.—— They made ſimilar promiſes during the reign of the late king; yet I have ſeen very honeſt Maſons in London who were much alarmed at the language they heard in the Pruſſian Lodges, and that but a ſhort time before the death of William III. By their account the language of the Maſons was as frantic to the full as that of the Paris Jacobins: "When ſhall we be delivered from the tyrant? "When ſhall we follow the example of our brethren at "Paris? Is it not high time for us to ſhow ourſelves wor- "thy of Equality, and Liberty, and true Maſons?" Such expreſſions, with many others far more offenſive to the dignity and perſon of the king, were not in the mouths of ſome few brethren only; but whole Lodges were ſeized with the phrenzy, which raged moſt violently among the adepts who were connected with the French. Nor is it a trivial circumſtance, or to be overlooked, that has taken place in the Lodge of Berlin calling itſelf *The Royal York.*—Public fame has informed the world, that this Lodge has eſtabliſhed within itſelf *a Directory, a Senate of Ancients, and a Senate of Youngers, modelled on the actual Government of France.* How far this revolution in the Lodge is to contribute towards, or denote the impatience with which the members thirſt after the univerſal revolution which the Pentarques are endeavoring to operate, I ſhall not pretend to aſcertain; but this much I can poſitively aſſert, that the auxiliaries of the Paris brotherhood are not confined to the Lodges. They have their brethren, ſent from Paris, in the Pruſſian armies. On the one hand, theſe ſoldiers are paid by his Pruſſian Majeſty to maintain his throne; on the other, they are paid by the

Pentarques to corrupt the Pruſſian regiments, and teach them to revolt againſt the throne. The generoſity of the Jacobins is ſo great, that the wives of theſe diſguiſed apoſtles are penſioned in France. Every one knows, that the arch-conſpirator Syeyes is gone to Berlin in a diplomatic character. Should his miſſion be ever accompliſhed, then will the hiſtorian have to explain conqueſts ſimilar to thoſe of Italy. Germany would certainly have long ſince fallen a prey to Illuminiſm had the plots formed met with ſucceſs.

Tired of ſuch partial treaſons, that only threw a ſingle town or a province into the hands of the enemy, the ſenate of the adepts, at that time holding its ſittings at Vienna, had, as early as 1793, either digeſted a plan themſelves, or received one, in thirty articles, that was to revolutionize the whole empire at the ſame inſtant.—Letters, poſt-paid as far as Ægra, were already diſpatched for Gotha, Weimar, Dreſden, and a hundred ſuch towns, fixing the day of general inſurrection for the firſt of November, inviting brethren and citizens to arm on that great day, though *it were only with knives*; to aſſemble in the ſquares of the towns, or in the fields without; to form into centuries, and to elect chiefs; *to ſeize on the public revenue, on the arſenals, on the powder magazines, and on the members of government.* In compliance with the ſame plan, *a National Aſſembly was to rear its head in ſome town of the empire on the ſame day*, and the brethren in inſurrection were to ſend their deputies to it. Theſe letters were ſent during the month of October; and happily for the ſtate, a ſufficient quantity of them were ſeized to counteract the effects of the conſpiracy. The Sect conſoled itſelf in the idea that ten years would not elapſe, as Mauvillon had declared, before all Germany would be revolutionized. The adepts, indeed, are ſo very numerous, that it is almoſt incredible that the revolution has not already taken place; and the only way of accounting for it, is by conſidering the inert diſpoſition of the people, who cannot be eaſily thrown into that ſtrong effervescence neceſſary for an exploſion.

The letters from that country complain bitterly of the progreſs of Illuminiſm. To give my reader the means of judging how it comes to paſs, that princes, who are the beſt acquainted with the views of the Sect, continue to tolerate them, I will tranſcribe the following paſſages from

the memorials which I have received from Germany, and which have been confirmed by ſeveral well-informed perſons: " One of the Sovereigns of Germany, who has the " moſt wit, the Duke of Brunſwick, has ſuffered, under " the auſpices of *Gampe*, *Mauvillon*, and *Trapp*, three " famous Illuminees, both his capital and his ſtates to be- " come the public ſchool of irreligion and Jacobiniſm.— " This might lead us to believe, that the prince was him- " ſelf tainted with thoſe principles, but it would be ca- " lumny to ſuppoſe it, for he only tolerates *theſe raſcals* " that he may not fall a victim to their plots. *Suppoſing I* " *was to ſend them away*, ſaid he, *they would only go elſe-* " *where and calumniate me. A league ought to be enter-* " *ed into by the German princes, to ſuffer them in no part* " *of the empire.*"

Meanwhile, till ſuch a league is agreed upon, there are other governments, in that country, that permit the laſt myſteries of Illuminiſm to be taught publicly. " At Jena, " in Saxony, for example, a profeſſor is permitted to teach " publicly, that *governments are contrary to the laws of* " *reaſon and of humanity*; and, conſequently, that, in " twenty, fifty, or a hundred years time, not a govern- " ment will exiſt."*

To go ſtill farther; few of the German princes will permit writers to combat either the Sect or its doctrines. A ſociety of men of unblemiſhed principles, (if we may judge by their publication, the *Eudemonia*, right genius) had conſecrated their labors in that journal to the unmaſking of the intrigues, cunning, and principles, of the Illuminees. Not a ſingle prince encourages this publication; ſeveral have proſcribed it in their ſtate, while the moſt jacobinical publications are allowed a free circulation. The Eudemonia has juſt been forbidden in the Auſtrian States, under the ſpecious pretext, that its object and views are good, but that it makes principles known that are not ſufficiently refuted. As a proof, however, that they were much better refuted than the Illuminees could wiſh, we need only obſerve, that the *Gazette Litteraire of Gotha*, the leading paper of the Sect, announced the prohibition before it was even known at Vienna.—The reader will be leſs ſurprized at the artfulneſs of the pretext, when he learns, that two of the *cenſors*, who are to

* Memoirs on Jacobiniſm in Germany. Anno 1794.

pronounce on the literary productions, are the well-known Illuminees *Sonnenfels* and *Retzer*, who, had it been for a journal of another ſtamp, would have reclaimed the liberty of the preſs in its favor.

We muſt now turn our attention to a new ſpecies of Jacobins who are making an amazing progreſs in Germany. Theſe are the diſciples of a Doctor KANT, who, riſing from darkneſs, and from the chaos of his Categories, proceeds to reveal the myſteries of his Coſmopoliticſm. According to this ſyſtem,—I. It *is melancholy* to be obliged to ſeek, *in the hopes of another world*, for the end and deſtiny of *the human ſpecies*.—II. It is not of man, conducted by reaſon, as it is of brutes led by inſtinct. The former has each for his end the developement of all his faculties; while, in the latter, the end is accompliſhed in each individual brute. Among men, on the contrary, the end is for the ſpecies, and not for the individual; for the life of man is too ſhort to attain the perfection and the complete developement of his faculties. In the claſs of man, *all the individuals paſs and periſh*; *the ſpecies alone ſurvives, and is alone immortal*.—III. With reſpect to man again, the end of the ſpecies cannot be accompliſhed; that is to ſay, his faculties can only be entirely developed *in the moſt perfect ſtate of ſociety*.—IV. That perfect ſtate of ſociety would be *a general confederacy* of the inhabitants of the earth, ſo united together, that diſſentions, jealouſies, ambition, or wars, would never be heard of.—V. Thouſands and thouſands of years may elapſe before this happy period of perpetual peace may come; but, " whatever may be the idea conceived of the " free exerciſe of our will, *it is nevertheleſs certain, that* " *the apparent reſult of that volition, the actions of man,* " *are, as well as all the other facts of nature, determined* " *by general laws*."—This nature proceeds with a ſlow but certain ſtep toward its object. Vices, virtues, ſciences, the diſſentions of mankind, are in her hands, but the ſure and infallible means by which ſhe leads the human ſpecies from generation to generation to the moſt perfect ſtate of civilization.—Sooner or later the epoch of the general confederation, of univerſal peace, muſt come; nevertheleſs, even at that period, *the human ſpecies will have proceeded but half way towards its perfection*.*—I know

* Plan of a General Hiſtory in a Coſmopolitical View, by Kant. See The *Spectateur du Nord*, April 1798.

not whether this doctrineer Kant will inform us in what the other half of the way toward perfection consists; but, in the meantime, his disciples who are daily increasing, tell us, " that Europe must necessarily dissolve itself into " as many republics as there are now monarchies; and " then only will the human species show itself in all its " strength and grandeur; then people incapable of go- " verning will no longer be seen at the head of nations; " *they will then rise to that high state of perfection at* " *present attained by the French nation, where birth is* " *nothing, but genius and talents every thing.*"* Other adepts, however, perfectly understand what is alluded to by the other half way toward perfection; and these acknowledge man only to be in a state of perfection when he recognizes no other master but himself, no other law but his reason. In short, it is man according to the professor of *Jena*, it is the *Magnus* of Weishaupt or of Babœuf.†

Notwithstanding the different methods of proceeding, it is easy to see that the system of *Kant*, at present Professor at *Konigsberg*, ultimately leads to the same end as that of *Weishaupt*, heretofore Professor at *Ingolstadt*.— The same hatred for revelation is to be found in both, as well as the same spirit of impiety, which cannot brook the idea of a world to come, where all delusion must cease in the presence of the Creator, and where the end of man and of the human species will be proclaimed at the tri-

* Memoirs of the State of Jacobinism in Germany.

† I was not put to the trouble of reading Doctor Kant's works in German. Mr. *Nitsch* has published a sort of analysis of them in English. Those who might tremble at the idea of bewildering themselves in his chaos of Categories may read the account given them in the British Critic, August 1796; and the reader may easily judge of the absurdity of the arguments which the Prussian Doctor heaps up against the very possibility of revelation. A Doctor *Willich* has lately shown himself a rival of Nitsch in proclaiming the glorious feats of this professor of darkness. I have perused the analysis that Dr. Willich has given us, and the praises bestowed on *the project of a perpetual peace*. I could not understand why he would only give the title of the work that relates chiefly to that point, I mean of that very treatise whence Doctor Kant's principles on Cosmopolitism have been extracted. Was the disciple afraid that it would have exposed the doctrines of his master too much, and opened the eyes of the English reader on this *plan of perpetual peace*, and on the drift of his whole system of Cosmopolitism?

bunal of a remunerating and avenging God. *Kant* and *Weiſhaupt*, with ſimilar pretenſions to ſuperior genius, are equally baffled in their attempts, falling into the moſt voluntarily abſurd propoſitions, that leave the preſent generation no other conſolation in its afflictions, than the empty dream of the imaginary happineſs of thoſe future Coſmopolites, who, in thouſands and thouſands of years, are, as we are told, to inhabit this earth. In both we may obſerve that ſame hypocriſy pretending to great ſenſibility and virtue; pretending not to know, that every individual who ſhall be perſuaded that he is not born for any fixed or perſonal end, will ſoon ſhape his conduct according to his views or to his pleaſures, and will little regard the future Coſmopolites, their univerſal peace, or the happineſs that is to be ſpread over the earth twenty or thirty ages after his death. The ſame inept fataliſm is taught by them both, wiſhing to repreſent nature as acting exactly as it pleaſes, in ſpite of our volition, and prevailing over our paſſions by its *general laws*; and nevertheleſs repreſent mankind as ſlow in ſeconding the grand object of Nature, juſt as we were free to accelerate or to retard its views by our actions. The only difference that can be perceived between theſe two prototypes of German Jacobiniſm, is, that the one at Konigſberg envelopes his views in a pacific cant; while the other, in his myſteries, animates and infuriates his Epopts, teaching that the day is not far diſtant when the adepts are to reſort to force, in order to cruſh and ſtifle every thing that ſhould dare to reſiſt them. But notwithſtanding the pacific cant of the former, his doctrines alſo make his hearers thirſt after that great day when the children of Equality and Liberty are to reign. His colleagues in the univerſities do not teach his principles with his coolneſs; the diſciples become violent; the Jacobins ſmile; and as the ſyſtem ſpreads, the offſpring of both theſe teachers unite and form alliances in their tenebrous abodes. Under pretence of this perpetual peace that is to be enjoyed by future generations, they have begun by declaring a war of cannibals againſt the whole univerſe; nor is there to be found ſcarcely one of their offſpring, that is not ready to betray his country, his laws, and his fellow-citizens, to erect that Coſmopolitan Empire announced by the Profeſſor Kant, or to enthrone the *Man-king* of the modern *Spartacus*.

Such is the ſtate of the Sect in Germany: It ſways the

Clubs, the Lodges, the Literary Societies, the *Dicaſteres*, or Offices of Government, and even Princes. It appears under variegated forms and names; but, however theſe may differ, it perpetually keeps that unhappy country in a ſtate of criſis. Every throne is undermined by a volcano that menaces exploſion whenever a favorable moment ſhall offer.

In England.

Why will not truth permit me to declare, that the conſpiring Sect has reſpected that nation which, content with the wiſdom, and living happy under the ſhield of its laws, muſt naturally have been adverſe to, and conſtant in repelling the diſorganizing plots and baneful myſteries of Illuminiſm? But have we not ſeen that Miniſter of Petkam, RONTGEN, ſent to London under the protection of a great Prince? Nor is he the only apoſtle of Weiſhaupt that has croſſed the ſeas in hopes of illuminizing England. The very name of *Xaverius Zwack* in theſe Memoirs recalled to the minds of many perſons the ſtay which that famous adept of Illuminiſm made during a whole year at Oxford, juſt after his flight from Bavaria. The exactneſs of his deſcription, taken from the Original Writings, left not the leaſt ſhadow of doubt as to the perſon of the *Cato* of Illuminiſm. This has made people underſtand the real motives that induced this adept to make that famous town his habitation, though he pretended to have been attracted thither by the fame of its ſcience. Neither the place nor the times, however, were propitious to his miſſion, nor to principles that entailed upon him the juſt contempt of the doctors. Mr. Hornſby, who had entruſted him with ſome diſcoveries in aſtronomy, will now underſtand how this adept could barefacedly publiſh them in Germany as the offspring of his own genius. This will alſo explain why the *Cato* of Illuminiſm, who was deſpiſed at the univerſity, and nearly expelled, never returned, though he only pretended a ſhort abſence to the Continent. Other apoſtles have ſucceeded him in his miſſion; and, in gratitude for the aſylum which this nation has granted us, I muſt declare, that the miſſionaries of Weiſhaupt have not been foiled in all their attempts.

When Mr. Robiſon publiſhed his aſſertion that certain Maſonic Lodges had been tainted by the illuminizing brotherhood, patriotiſm naturally exclaimed that it was impoſſible. Men who have inſtituted themſelves into a ſort of tribunal of public opinion called upon this reſpec-

table writer to produce his proofs. I know not what the anſwer of Mr. Robiſon was; all I know is, that he might have replied, " When perſons who are entitled to queſtion me ſhall do ſo, I will anſwer."—To thoſe who may wiſh to queſtion me, I will ſay, that there are circumſtances which may forbid me to anſwer; it is ſufficient that thoſe who watch for the ſafety of the nation ſhould be informed of them, that they may take precautions to counteract the Sect; beſides, are there not many hiſtorical truths, that cannot be proved in a court of juſtice?

I make theſe obſervations with the more aſſurance, as Government moſt certainly have the competent proofs in their hands, which their wiſdom, nevertheleſs, has kept ſecret.—I make them, becauſe Mr. Robiſon has ſpoken with ſufficient clearneſs, in his Appendix, and in his Notes, to ſhow that he was but too well informed when he ſpoke of the intruſion of Illuminiſm into certain Engliſh and Scotch Lodges, without being obliged to particularize the Lodges. But he certainly acted prudently in not expoſing himſelf to the fate of the celebrated Zimmerman, who, as all the world knows, fell, in ſimilar circumſtances, a victim to the Illuminee *Philo*-Knigge; not becauſe he had accuſed him unjuſtly, but that legal evidence was wanting to prove that *Philo* and Knigge were names applicable to the ſame perſon; a fact now ſo clear both by his own works and thoſe of the adepts. They who have thus attempted to brand Mr. Robiſon with the name of calumniator, would have done well to reflect on the many means employed by the Sect to influence ſuch a judgment; that it is a ſtanding law of the Sect, *that where an author of merit cannot be gained over, he is to be discredited by every means poſſible*; and moſt certainly he has a glorious title to the hatred of the Sect. I willingly confeſs, that it would have given me great pleaſure, had it been conſonant with prudence, that Mr. Robiſon had publiſhed all his proofs, as I am perſuaded that many of thoſe perſons who have been ſo haſty and intemperate in their judgments, would have voted him thanks for the ſervice he has rendered to his country, actuated, as I ſuppoſe them to be, with the ſame zeal for its happineſs, but not equally informed as to the dangers with which it is menaced.

Nothwithſtanding the variance that is to be found between that reſpectable author and myſelf in ſome articles,

(particularly on the Catholic religion,* and on the Jeſuits, whom he might have repreſented in different colours,

* I do not here pretend to refute the religious prejudices of certain writers againſt the Catholics: But what has the French Revolution to do with confeſſion, with monaſtic vows, with indulgencies, or the juriſdiction purely ſpiritual of the Pope, and articles of ſuch a nature? The proof that theſe objects were far from contributing to the Revolution is, that the Jacobins ſpare no pains to deſtroy them.—In a book combating the Jacobins, what can induce a writer to vent his ſpleen againſt the tenets of a Catholic? I might ſay to many writers who have been guilty of this moſt extraordinary imprudence, Begin, at leaſt, gentlemen, by making yourſelves acquainted with our tenets, and then ſee whether we are able to defend them To others I would ſay, For God's ſake let us expoſe our belief ourſelves, let us ſay what we do and what we do not believe. The defence you may with the beſt intentions ſet up for us, may be more hurtful than beneficial to our cauſe. Mr. Robiſon, no doubt, thought that he was ſpeaking in favor of the church of France, when he ſaid, that that church had long ſince eſtabliſhed its independence of the Court of Rome. If by the Court of Rome he means the temporal dominion of the Pope, the French had no great trouble in eſtabliſhing ſuch an independence, as it never recognized any ſuch dominion; if he means the purely ſpiritual juriſdiction of the Pope, neither our Catholic Biſhops, Clergy, nor Laity, ever wiſhed to throw it off. They all continue to believe what they always have believed, that the Pope, as ſucceſſor of St. Peter, has the juriſdiction as firſt paſtor over the Church of France, as he has over all others. Every one knows, that this juriſdiction of the ſovereign Pontiff is held in our faith as an eſſential point of the hierarchy eſtabliſhed by Chriſt; but every one alſo knows, that the juriſdiction of the Pope, as well as that of all Biſhops, is not of this world; that it does not militate in any way with the duties we own to our ſovereigns; that it can never abſolve us from the fidelity and ſubmiſſion which we owe to the laws of the State. I, therefore, here proteſt againſt all thoſe who may chooſe to interpret the eſteem I have declared to entertain for Mr. Robiſon's work as alluding to thoſe parts of it that are abſolutely contrary to my faith. On this occaſion alſo I beg to obſerve, that in the caſe of the preſent Revolution both Proteſtants and Catholics ſhould unite, and lay aſide their prejudices againſt each other, to combat the impiety of the Jacobins, as their aim is to annihilate the religions of both. Beſide, what party has a right to boaſt, when the revolution is conſidered; *Spartacus*-Weiſhaupt and *Cato*-Zwack were two apoſtate Catholics—*Philo*-Knigge and *Lucian*-Nicolai two apoſtate Proteſtants—Thomas Paine an apoſtate Anglican. In France, the Catholic citizens of Paris, the Proteſtant citizens of Niſmes; in Ireland, large portions of a Catholic populace organized into a revolutionary army under Proteſtant chiefs.

had he had, as we have, the whole hiſtory of their pretended Maſonry before him, a mere fiction of the Illuminees to dupe the Maſons, and avert the attention of the public from the true conſpirators); notwithſtanding this variance, I ſhall never heſitate to acknowledge, that he is entitled to the thanks of his fellow-countrymen for having denounced a conſpiracy that threatens this, as much as it does any other nation; I ſhall always bear willing teſtimony to the juſtice of his cauſe, to the ardor of his zeal, and to the uprightneſs of his intentions. Meanwhile, till he may judge it proper to publiſh his proofs on the Illuminiſm of certain Engliſh Maſonic Lodges, I ſhall mention a few circumſtances that have come to my knowledge.

To my certain knowledge, there are two men in England who have been tampered with by the Apoſtles of Illuminiſm. One of theſe, who belongs to the Navy, ſtill preſerves that honeſt indignation which muſt naturally ariſe in an upright heart at ſeeing itſelf ſo atrociouſly duped by an Inſinuator, who, under pretence of initiating him into the ſecrets of Maſonry, was plunging him head foremoſt into Illuminiſm. The other, a man of great merit, who might have known more had he not diſcovered his real ſentiments; but his letters bear teſtimony of the following particulars:

Of thoſe books which ſhow the multitude of Illuminized Lodges, there is one bearing the title of *Paragrafin*; and it is often put into the hands of certain candidates by the Inſinuators. In this production we may ſee the travelling adept Zimmerman boaſting of having illuminized Lodges in England, juſt as he had done in Italy and Hungary. In ſome of theſe Lodges the tenets of Illuminiſm were well received; but of five that have come to my correſpondent's knowledge, two ſoon abandoned the myſte-

In Germany, the Illuminees take their origin in a Catholic Univerſity, and all the Lutheran Univerſities are full of Illuminizing Profeſſors. Such conſiderations as theſe ſhould certainly put an end to reproach on either ſide. I muſt confeſs, that the Lutherans and Calviniſts with whom I correſpond in Germany are much more candid; they ſpare neither ſide, and are the firſt to point out thoſe of their own perſuaſion who are tainted with Illuminiſm. They behold the Jacobins as enemies to every religion; and when Jacobiniſm is in queſtion, they wiſely confeſs the neceſſity of uniting all parties to cruſh the hydra.

ries of the modern *Spartacus*, the other three are not known to have rejected them.

Another apoſtle ſoon ſucceeded to Zimmerman; this was a Doctor *Ibiken*, an aſſumed name, perhaps, as it was cuſtomary with the travelling adepts to change their names according to circumſtances. Whatever may have been the caſe, this *Ibiken*, an emiſſary of the Ecclectic Lodges of Illuminiſm, began by uniting with ſome Quakers. He was afterwards received into certain Lodges, and introduced ſome of the preparatory degrees. He even ſucceeded in completely illuminizing ſome of the duped brethren. He alſo boaſted of his ſucceſſes in Ireland and England. He would foretel to his Engliſh pupils, that a great revolution was about to be operated in the pitiful and miſerable Maſonry of their country. Thoſe to whom this language was perfectly unintelligible at the time, have told me, that they have perfectly underſtood his meaning ſince they have peruſed my publication. They have loſt ſight of the Doctor, which was the natural conſequence of his being admoniſhed to depart with his myſteries by thoſe who watch over the public ſafety.

Another emiſſary ſoon after appeared, and coming from America under the name of *Reginhard*, declared himſelf an Alſacian, and formerly an Almoner in the French navy. He expected to be well received by certain Engliſh Lodges in correſpondence with thoſe he had juſt left at Boſton, and which, according to his account, had made a ſurprizing progreſs ſince they had fraternized with the brethren that had gone from France to America.—This *Reginhard* did not appear ſo zealous as the other apoſtles; he even ſignified his diſguſt with a miſſion that ſo little became his ſtation of life. It was through him more particularly that my correſpondent became acquainted with the exiſtence of Illuminiſm on the banks of the Thames.

This is certainly enough to prove, that the Illuminization of England was not neglected by the conſpiring brethren. I will ſay more, that notwithſtanding the honorable exception I have made in favor of the Engliſh Lodges, I am no longer ſurprized to hear of Illuminiſm being well received by certain Lodges. And here I think it neceſſary to repeat, that when I made the exception, I only meant to ſpeak of what is called the *National Maſonry, reſtricted to the firſt three Degrees.* I ſhould have

been more circumſpect in my exception, had I known of a pamphlet, entitled, FREEMASONRY: *a Word to the Wife.* Here, in vindication of the Grand Lodge of England, I ſee the moſt violent complaints preferred againſt the introduction of a variety of degrees, of which, in a political point of view, it is certainly the duty of a well-ordered government to repreſs the vice and immorality; the *impiety* of the Roſicrucians is particularly complained of (page 9); and I think that in the courſe of theſe Memoirs I have pretty clearly proved, that from the profound Roſicrucian to the myſteries of Weiſhaupt there is but a ſhort ſtep.

There is alſo extant another work, printed *fifty* years ago, *On the Origin and Doctrine of Freemaſons.* This work would have been of the greateſt uſe to me had it fallen into my hands a little ſooner. Let me no longer be accuſed of having been the firſt to reveal, that an impious and diſorganizing *Equality and Liberty* were the grand ſecret of the Occult Lodges. The author of this work was as poſitive in this aſſertion as myſelf, and at that time clearly demonſtrated it, by following, ſtep by ſtep, the Scotch degrees of Maſonry as they exiſted in thoſe days. Time may have changed certain forms; but all the numerous degrees ſtyled *philoſophical* have not been able to add an iota to the ſyſtems at that time followed in the Lodges of the *Scotch Architects.* That ſpecies of Maſons is as bad as the Illuminees. It can ſcarcely be conceived with what art they proceed. As they are ſtill extant in Great Britain, it is not too late to point the attention of the ruling powers toward them. Let us proceed at once to their laſt myſteries.

"When a candidate preſents himſelf to be received a "*Scotch Architect*, the tyler aſks him, whether he has a "vocation for *Liberty*, *Equality*, *Obedience*, *Courage*, and "*Conſtancy*." When the candidate has anſwered *Yes*, he is introduced into the interior of the Lodge. Here it is no longer the repreſentation of the Temple of Solomon, but of five animals, the *Fox*, the *Monkey*, the *Lion*, the *Pelican*, and the *Dove*. The *Signs*, and the word *Adonai*, being given to the candidate, the orator begins an enigmatical diſcourſe, of which the following is a part: "*Craftineſs*, *Diſſimulation*, *Courage*, *Love*, *Sweetneſs*; "cunning, imitation, fury, piety, tranquillity; miſchief, "mimickry, cruelty, goodneſs, and friendſhip, are all one

" and the ſame thing, and are generated in the ſame thing. " They ſeduce, inſpire joy, give riſe to ſorrow, procure " advantage and ſerene days. They are five in number, " and ſtill they are but one. Soon—ſoon—ſoon—by him " that was, is now, and ever ſhall be, &c. &c."

" The remainder of the diſcourſe (ſays my author) is " in the ſame ſtrain. However obſcure theſe things may " appear, they are nevertheleſs clear as day, if attention " be paid to the figures that denote the character of Free- " maſons. The *craftineſs of the Fox* denotes the art with " which the Order hides its object. The *imitation of the* " *Monkey* typifies that ſuppleneſs of mind, that addreſs " with which the Maſons can accommodate themſelves " to the various talents and taſtes of the candidates. The " *Lion* denotes the ſtrength and courage of thoſe who " compoſe the ſociety. The *Pelican* is the emblem of " the tenderneſs that reigns among the brethren. The " peaceable demeanor of the *Dove* is repreſentative of *the* " *peace of the golden age*, or of thoſe ſerene days that " Freemaſons promiſe to the univerſe."

The author from whom we made theſe extracts lived for a long time with Maſons of this ſpecies. He was often preſent at their Lodges and councils: He attended at their deliberations when contriving the means of accompliſhing their plans. He then continues to ſpeak of the initiation of a Scotch candidate: " There is no rule which " ordains, that the object of the Society ſhould be made " known to him in clear terms; but only in terms that " would be inſufficient to make him wholly underſtand " the morality and polity that are univerſally received.— " On the night of his reception they ſimply tell him, that " *Equality* and *Liberty* among the brethen is the ſole ob- " ject of the Society. But ſhould the *new Architect* ſhow " ſigns of a perfect preparedneſs for the ultimate myſtery " of the Society, *he is then let into the ſecret, or rather* " *informed of the grand object of the Society, which is to* " *reduce* ALL MEN *to a reciprocal* EQUALITY, *and to* " *reinſtate mankind in its natural* LIBERTY. In ſhort, " after a few days meeting, they openly declare, that the " expreſſion of *eſtabliſhing Equality* among men, and of " reinſtating mankind *in their natural liberty, indiſtinct-* " *ly comprehends all perſons of whatever quality or ſta-*

" *tion they may be, without excepting magiſtrates, great,* " *or ſmall.*"*

The ceremonies and catechiſm of this degree perfectly coincide with theſe explanations. In ſhort, every thing ſo clearly demonſtrates *Equality and Liberty* to be the ultimate object of their myſteries, that the author attributes the origin, or, at leaſt, the reſtoration of Maſonry to Cromwell and his Independents. The author would have ſimply attributed the reſtoration to him, had he been acquainted with the manuſcript of Oxford. Inferences of the utmoſt importance may be drawn from this work, both as to the hiſtory of Freemaſonry and the intereſts of Governments. It is eaſily ſeen at preſent, that the diſorganizing myſteries of the occult Lodges are at leaſt anterior to the reign of the French Sophiſters. Theſe may have new-modelled them after their faſhion, and multiplied and varied the degrees; but their principles had been received in the Lodges long before Voltaire wrote. —The *Knight Kadoſch* was already extant in the *Scotch Architect*. When the latter is aſked in his catechiſm, what he is called, he anſwers *cunning* and *ſimple*; the *Kadoſch* may anſwer *bold* and *impatient*. The difference lies in the character, and not in the ſyſtems. This degree of *Scotch Architect* alſo explains whence the pre-eminence of the Scotch Lodges ariſes, and why the Lodges of other countries are ſo deſirous of correſponding with the mother Lodge called the Lodge *Heredom of Kilwinning*, in Scotland. It is there that the famous *Architects* of *Equality* and *Liberty* are ſuppoſed to be the guardians of the laſt myſteries. It was with this Lodge alſo, that a number of French Lodges at Marſeilles, Avignon, Lyons, Rouen, &c. &c. would be affiliated, notwithſtanding the influence of the *Grand Orient* of Paris.†

* Of the Origin of the Free-maſons, degree of Architect.

† I have in my poſſeſſion, the original of the patents empowering a Brother maſon to erect Lodges under the direction of that of Rouen. A Provincial holds his reſidence at this latter place, and is entruſted with the power of judging the lawſuits or diſſentions that may ariſe within his province; but when any thing of great conſequence has happened, it is referred to the Lodge of *Heredom* for judgment. Had *Joſeph II.* ſeen this, he might have called it an *imperium in imperio*, or *an empire throughout* ALL *empires*. The reader will remark, that the bre-

In ſhort, the diſcovery of this degree of *Grand Architect* is of importance to Governments in general, and particularly to that of England; for it ſhows the dangers to which a ſtate is expoſed where, in the midſt of thoſe brethren who dedicate themſelves to an innocent Equality, exiſt a number ſufficient to tranſmit the Grand Myſteries of the Sect.

In ſpite of all the ſecrecy obſerved by this ſpecies of adept, who is there that can view their very exiſtence in any other light than as a perpetual conſpiracy againſt the ſtate? How then can we be ſurpriſed if the Illuminees found perſons in theſe countries willing to fraternize with them, and to combine their plots with thoſe of the miſſionaries? However pure the generality of the Engliſh Lodges may be, is not this enough to ſhow that the moſt diſaſtrous plots may ſuddenly burſt from the Lodges; and that the preſence of virtuous men may only ſerve as a cloak to the deſigns of the wicked?—Do not let me be told, that the Good counteract the evil intentions of the Wicked; for the latter can find means of meeting unknown to the former, though the ſame Lodge may be an aſylum for them both. There are Lodges now extant, that (to uſe the expreſſion of a brother who frequented them a few months ſince) would not admit *a ſingle Ariſtocrat*.—My reader muſt underſtand ſuch language?—There are Lodges the entries to which are perfect labyrinths. The adepts do not go out by the ſame houſes as they entered; and, the more completely to baffle the vigilance of the conſtituted authorities, they have changed their dreſſes.

But let us for an inſtant ſuppoſe, that the Sect could make no impreſſion on the Engliſh Lodges, we know that *Chauvelin* and *Vandernoot*, on quitting London, left their emiſſaries behind: public danger is beſt probed by private facts; and the reader will not be ſurpriſed when he ſees me deſcend to the following particulars relative to the emiſſaries of Jacobiniſm in England.

Having been honored with the acquaintance of Mr.

thren ſay, *Heredom* (Harodim), is a Hebrew word ſignifying *chiefs* or *governors*. It is alſo to be remembered, that there is another degree of *Grand Architect* entirely different from that which I have juſt deſcribed. The multiplicity of theſe degrees only ſerve the better to hide their object.

Burke, I introduced to him a gentleman who wiſhed to conſult him with reſpect to a letter written to Manuel, who at that time governed the *Commune* of Paris, in conjunction with *Tallien*, the ſanguinary butcher of the bloody September. This was in the firſt year of my emigration. The letter had been written for a French nobleman, who, wiſhing to return to Paris, thought it might be advantageous to get a letter of recommendation to Manuel from a Jacobin then reſident in London. This nobleman's wife ſuſpected ſome treachery, and opened the letter. The epiſtle really began with a ſort of recommendation, but ended with ſaying, "this nobleman is, after all, a rank ariſtocrat, who ought to be got rid of by the pikes or the guillotine, that he may not return any more to London." In the body of the letter an account was given to Manuel of the ſtate of the brethren in London. Among other things it ſtated, that *five hundred* perſons were preſent at their laſt meeting; that they were ardent in the cauſe; that their numbers daily increaſed, and that every thing denoted the beſt diſpoſitions for hoiſting the revolutionary ſtandard. This letter was immediately laid before the miniſtry.

Notwithſtanding every method was adopted that wiſdom could ſuggeſt, the partizans of the Sect increaſed, inſtead of diminiſhing; and, in a ſhort time, there were at leaſt *fifteen hundred* conſpirators in London, worthy of being marſhalled by *Jourdan Coup-tête*. There were at the ſame time in London two men who had been educated in all the arts of the police of Paris, and they were ordered to enquire into the ſtate of the foreigners, and to diſtinguiſh the real emigrants from the new comers. It was ſoon diſcovered, that a banditti of all nations, criminals from the *Bicetre*, from the *gallies*, and who had eſcaped the gallows; the choſen bands in ſhort, of Necker, Orleans, and Mirabeau, had been ſent into England by their ſucceſſors of the great club, to effect a ſimilar revolution. It was in conſequence of this that the Alien Bill was enacted.

But the Sect is relentleſs; it roars at the very idea of the obſtacles it has met with in England. At London, at Edinburgh, at Dublin, it has its national brethren, its conſpiring and *Correſponding Societies*. In London we ſee the duped brethren of the higheſt ariſtocracy proclaiming the *ſovereignty of the people* at their revels; while, in the

hidden retreat of their ſecret ſocieties, other brethren are plotting how to put the fortunes of the ariſtocratic dupes, of the banker, and of the merchant, in requiſition for the uſe of that *ſovereign people*; in thoſe ſame receſſes, under pretence of *Reform*, do they wiſh to erect on the ruins of the Britiſh conſtitution, the reveries of a Paine, a Syeyes, or of the Pentarques; they wiſh to plant that tree of Equality and Liberty whoſe nouriſhment is gore and pillage, whoſe fruit is murder, miſery, and exile. Others are training their deluded followers to aſſaſſination, and are forging pikes.—Yes, the ſcourge has been wafted acroſs the ocean with all its plots; the adepts have not forgotten the land of their anceſtors, the Puritans, Anabaptiſts, and Independents. They have diſcovered their progenitors in thoſe ſame dens to which Cromwell had confined them, after having, through their means, dethroned and murdered his king, diſſolved the parliament, and ſeduced the nation to his yoke. The brethren of Avignon recognized the Illuminees of Swedenbourg as their parent Sect; neither were they unmindful of the embaſſy ſent them by the Lodge of Hampſtead. Under the auſpices of *De Mainauduc*, they have ſeen their diſciples thirſting after that *celeſtial Jeruſalem*, that *purifying fire* (for theſe are the expreſſions I have heard them make uſe of) that was to kindle into a general conflagration throughout the earth by means of the French revolution—and thus was Jacobin Equality and Liberty to be univerſally triumphant even in the ſtreets of London.

But what a concatenation of conſpiracies will the hiſtorian find when he ſhall turn to the archives of thoſe ſocieties ſtyling themſelves of *Conſtitutional Information* or *Correſponding*. Here, however, Juſtice and the Senate have interpoſed; they have torn away the maſk, and behold the brethren of *Edinburgh* bound in the ſame plots and machinations as thoſe of *Dublin*, of *London*, of *Sheffield*, of *Mancheſter*, of *Stockport*, of *Leiceſter*, and of many other towns, all uniting their wiſhes, invitations, and addreſſes to the Jacobin Legiſlators.* The Mother

* I have annexed a more extenſive application of theſe Memoirs to Ireland and Great-Britain at the end of this fourth Volume. Let me on this occaſion beg and beſeech every Magiſtrate and every Clergyman, whoſe province it is more particularly to inſtruct and guide the people at large, and for whom this work is more particularly adapted, to read once more and

Society at once demonſtrates all the arts of the *Secret Committees of the Grand Orient* under Philip of Orleans; the deep cunning of the *Bavarian Areopage* under Weiſhaupt; and the profligate means of ſeduction of *Holbach's Club* under D'Alembert. All theſe they combine in hopes of hurrying away a generous nation into the ſink of impiety, and thence to rebellion; they combine, in hopes of uniting the councils and the efforts of the diſperſed brethren in the cauſe of revolution. Subſcriptions are raiſed in Great Britain and Ireland, as they were in France, to print Paine's Code of Rebellion, and circulate it from the town to the village, and even in the very cottage.*—Others of the brethren are diſtributing, at their own expenſe, all the poiſons of infidelity, nor do they bluſh to go and aſk ſubſcriptions from houſe to houſe for the reprinting of the moſt profligate and impious productions of Voltaire, Diderot, Boulanger, La Metherie, and of other Deiſts or Atheiſts of the age, and this under the ſpecious pretence of *enlightening ignorance*, and how? by putting all the blaſphemies of the Sophiſters into the hands of the people.

The brethren of Edinburgh, like thoſe of Berlin, were not to be contented with the mere arts of ſeduction. One might be led to think that the adepts *Watt* and *Downie* had received their inſtructions from the Pruſſian Areogage. Notwithſtanding the immenſe diſtance that divides Edinburgh from Berlin, they adopted preciſely the ſame plan to draw off the attention of the troops by means of the burning of ſome houſe, and while the ſoldiery ſhould be occupied with extinguiſhing the fire to fall on them, and in the midſt of this popular commotion to proclaim the Jacobin Code.—In London have we not ſeen regicides? At Paris, Lewis XVI. captive in his capital, was dragged to the guillotine. At Ublingen, Lewis XVIII. when a fugitive, was wounded in the head by a ball. In London, was George III. in the midſt of the acclamations of his ſubjects, aimed at by the regicide crew; and if Heaven averted the ball, is the Sect leſs treacherous or

with attention the Reports of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons made in 1794. After having peruſed theſe Memoirs, they will view them in a very different light from what they formerly did. *Tranſ.*

* Thoutands of that abominable pamphlet were ſent out to the Britiſh eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt-Indies. *Tranſ.*

leſs abominable, becauſe it did not ſucceed in its foul attempt? At length, diſdaining obſcure crimes, and aiming at the annihilation of the Throne, of the Parliament, and of the whole Britiſh Conſtitution, they attempt to ſeduce the legions of the empire from their allegiance by means of the moſt inflammatory hand-bills; they would perſuade gallant troops to ſhake off diſcipline and butcher their officers, as had been done in France. Emiſſaries found their way into the fleets; and the ſailors were for a time deluded by the ſophiſms of thoſe ſeducers, who wiſhed to pervert the bold opponents of the Jacobins on the ocean, into the treacherous abettors of thoſe ſame Jacobins that dare not face an honeſt tar. In Ireland, they aſſume another form; independence in church and ſtate is held out to a deluded people by the emiſſaries of thoſe who have obliterated every worſhip and every law in France, in Corſica, in Belgium, in Savoy, in Holland, in Italy, to ſubject the miſerable inhabitants of thoſe once flouriſhing countries to the tyranny of the Pentarques.—In that unfortunate country all the arts of ſeduction have been played off that Illuminiſm could invent, and its perjuries have raged to a frightful exceſs. There did the legions of the Sect, conceiving themſelves powerful in their numbers, ſally forth from their lurking places. It was no longer a partial treaſon to be puniſhed; the force of armies was neceſſary to cruſh whole legions of rebels who were daily expecting ſuccour from a foreign foe.

But, Praiſe be to God on high, who, in his mercy, has counteracted the malice of ſuch plots, of ſuch ſeditions: Praiſe be to the all-powerful God, who has preſerved this ſtate from the machinations of its enemies!—May the Hiſtorian, after having traced the origin, the code, the reunion, the attempts, and the ſucceſſes of ſuch numerous conſpiring Sects, againſt God and his Son, againſt thrones and kings, againſt ſociety and its laws, repoſe himſelf, and complacently view the happineſs of theſe Iſles, when he comes to treat of the land that has proved an aſylum to ſo many unfortunate victims! May he triumphantly ſay, "There it was that the ſurges of inſurrection were daſhed back upon itſelf, the attempts of Jacobiniſm were as vain as the efforts of its fleets."—Happy ſhall we be, if, by entering into this diſquiſition on the fury of Jacobiniſm, we ſhall have contributed to awaken the attention of nations to the true cauſes of all their misfortunes and re-

volutionary diſaſters!—Thrice happy ſhall we be, if we ſhall have ſucceeded in guarding this nation againſt the dangers with which it is threatened; a nation to which the world looks up for its ſafety; a nation which, in its beneficence, is become our adoptive country. May it ever behold us offering up our prayers to heaven for the preſervation of its king, and for its proſperity, with all that affection and zeal that nature inſpires for one's native ſoil!

To preſume that we have fulfilled our taſk in ſuch a manner as not to ſtand in need of the indulgence of our readers, would be impertinent. We ingenuouſly confeſs the inferiority of our talents, and the many imperfections, we are conſcious muſt exiſt in Memoirs of ſuch high importance to the public cauſe. But with confidence we aſſert, that we have never ſwerved from truth. It has been our conſtant and only guide in pointing out the cauſes of the revolution, it ſhall continue to be ſo in treating of ſuch means, and drawing ſuch concluſions as muſt neceſſarily follow from the facts demonſtrated in the courſe of theſe Memoirs.

CONCLUSION.

WHAT a painful and diſguſting courſe have I at length terminated!—Wandering through thoſe ſubterraneous haunts where, in the ſhades of darkneſs, conſpirators were plotting againſt all religion and ſociety, I have frequently ſhuddered with horror, and felt my courage ſinking! Fired with indignation at the ſight of ſuch iniquity, ſuch a concatenation of crimes ſtill contriving, how often have I ſaid to myſelf, Leave this abyſs of wickedneſs—fly the abodes of theſe vile and monſtrous conſpirators; it may be better even to fall their victim than to fully one's mind with the recollection of ſuch villany, treaſon, and impiety, or to be the accuſer to poſterity of the age in which we live.—But have I not cotemporaries to be ſaved?—There ſtill exiſt nations that have not bent beneath the Jacobin yoke; my fellow-countrymen may, perhaps, be induced to ſhake off that yoke, when they are made acquainted with the unparalleled plots and artifices contrived for their ſeduction. And ought not poſterity to be informed to what an extent this diſaſtrous Sect raged in our days, that it may guard againſt a renewal of ſimilar horrors? Such thoughts inſpired me with courage; they have carried me through this diſguſting taſk; they were my ſupport when overpowered with the odious ſight of legions of conſpirators conjuring up every helliſh art to heap miſery on the inhabitants of the earth: moreover the moſt covincing proofs have never been wanting.

But can it be poſſible that my endeavors ſhould prove fruitleſs? if ſo, alas! let theſe pages be rent aſunder; commit to the flames theſe Memoirs which bear teſtimony of ſuch a multitude of hideous plots that threatened ſociety. Kings, Pontiffs, Magiſtrates, Princes, and Citizens of every claſs, if it be true, that I have attempted in vain to diſſipate the fatal illuſion; if it be true, that the peſtiferous blaſt of Jacobiniſm has deadened your ſenſes, and plunged your ſouls into lethargy; if it be true, that the torpor of indolence has rendered you callous to your own dangers, as well as thoſe that threaten your children, your

country, your religion, and your laws; if you are incapable of the leaſt effort, of the ſmalleſt ſacrifice for your own ſafety and for that of the public; if the world be peopled only by daſtards, who are ready to ſubmit their necks to the Jacobin yoke, let them be carried into bondage, let them be ſlaves to Jacobins and to their principles; may their fortunes fall a prey to brigands; may their temples, thrones, governments, palaces, and habitations, fall beneath the blows of the relentleſs Sect! When you tear theſe pages, baniſh from your mind all preſage of diſaſters; paſs your days in joy, feſtivity and merriment, till the knell of revolution ſhall ſound and ſtartle ye from your lethargy. The Jacobins will take upon themſelves the care of haſtening the fatal hour. To announce it beforehand to ſuch torpid ſouls would be to anticipate their ſufferings; no, ſleep the ſleep of death; may your ears be deaf to the ſound of thoſe chains that are forging for you; approach not where truth may undeceive you; no, follow in the retinue of ſome falſe prophet that may beguile you.

'But ſhould there be found men whoſe manly courage would be fired with zeal for the public cauſe at the very recital of ſuch monſtrous combinations againſt church and ſtate; for them I write; it is on them that I call when I ſay, that notwithſtanding all the artifices of the various Sects, and the tremendous power which Jacobiniſm has already acquired, Europe is not yet ſubjected to them. It is yet poſſible to cruſh that Sect which has ſworn to cruſh your God, plunder your country, and annihilate ſociety.—— Your country and yourſelves may ſtill be ſaved. But in the war that the Sect is waging againſt you, as well as in all other wars, the firſt requiſite for working your ſafety is the perfect conviction of your danger, and an accurate knowledge of the enemy, of his plans, and of his means. It was not unintentionally that I heaped proof upon proof to demonſtrate that Jacobiniſm was a coalition of the *Sophiſters of Impiety* ſwearing to cruſh the God of the Goſpel; of the *Sophiſters of Rebellion* ſwearing to overturn the thrones of kings; and of the Sophiſters of Anarchy conſpiring not only againſt the altar and throne, but ſwearing to annihilate all laws, property, and ſociety. I was certain that my readers would neglect all means of ſelf-preſervation ſo long as they were not convinced of their danger. Should the proofs that I have adduced ſtill leave them in doubt as to the reality of the plots of the Sect,

I ſhall have loſt my labor; I can but weep over their blindneſs; they will have already fallen into that ſtate of apathy into which the Sect wiſhes to plunge them. The leſs credit my readers ſhall give to the reality of theſe plots, the more certain will the conſpirators be of ſucceſs. If then I farther inſiſt, let my inſtances meet with a candid reception; for, reader, it is your ſafety and that of the public weal that actuates me.

Let us then ſuppoſe, for example, that a perſon comes to warn you, that you are ſurrounded by men who, under the cloak of friendſhip, are only waiting for a favorable moment to execute an old plan which they have contrived of robbing you of your money and property, of firing your habitation, nay farther, perhaps, of butchering your wife, your children, your relations; ſuppoſing that the intelligence you have received of ſuch a plot were ſupported but by a thouſandth part of the proofs that I have adduced of the plots contriving againſt your country, and againſt every ſtate without exception, would you waſte that time in idle declamations and ſuperfluous doubts on your dangers, which your perfidious friends were huſbanding for your ruin? or would you expect to ſee perſons beſeeching you to watch for your own preſervation?—— Well, I now wiſh to convince ye, whether princes, nobles, rich, poor, burgeſſes, merchants, citizens, in fine, of every claſs, that all theſe conſpiracies of the ſophiſticated, maſonic, or illuminizing adepts, are conſpiracies againſt your perſons, againſt your property, (whether hereditary or mercantile,) againſt your families, your wives and children. Are you wild enough to believe, that while your country is delivered over to the revolutionary conflagration, an exception will be made in your favor, becauſe you inhabit ſuch or ſuch a place, counting-houſe, or cot? In the univerſal pillage of the ſtate, ſhall your property be more ſacred than that of your neighbor, and eſcape the rapacity of the brigands, or the requiſition of their Pentarques? The characteriſtic of a revolution made by ſectaries is, not that the danger is diminiſhed by its univerſality, but that terror, indigence, and ſlavery, ruſh down like a torrent, ſwallowing and beating down without diſtinction every thing that is to be found on its paſſage.

In the whole progreſs of the Sect, wherever it has acquired ſovereignty, in France, in Holland, in Brabant, in Savoy, in Switzerland, in Italy, ſearch for a ſingle man

of property that has preſerved it entire; a poor parent that has not had to fear for the requiſition of his children, or his own labor; a ſingle family that has not to weep for the loſs or ruin of ſome one of its branches; a ſingle citizen that can lay himſelf down to reſt with the proſpect of being able to ſay, when he awakes, that his property, his liberty, his life, is any better guaranteed to him, than was that of the unfortunate victims whom he had ſeen during the day plundered of their property, dragged in chains, or falling under the inſatiable guillotine.—No, they are not to be found. Ceaſe then, ſluggard, to flatter thyſelf. The danger is imminent, it is terrible, it ſtares ye all in the face without exception.

Yet ſink not under the preſſure of terror; that would be cowardice indeed; for, though ſo poſitive as to the certainty of your danger, I may boldly ſay, *Will* it only, and your ſalvation is certain. I appeal to the Jacobins themſelves; for how often have they repeated, that "it is not poſſible to triumph over a nation that is determined to defend itſelf." *Will* as they do and you will have little to fear from them. The true Jacobin is not to be diſcouraged by oppoſition. The myſteries infuſe into the adepts a uniform, conſtant, and relentleſs determination to attain the grand object in ſpite of every obſtacle; that oath, that irrevocable oath of overturning the whole univerſe, and ſubjecting it to their ſyſtems, is the true principle whence originate their reſources; this fires the zeal of the adepts, and induces them to make ſuch numerous ſacrifices; it inſpires its warriors with enthuſiaſm; it creates rage and fury in the heart of its brigands. It is this principle which conſtitutes the Sect; in that its force reſides; it is the director and mover of its adepts, whether in arms, in the clubs, in the lodges, or deliberating in the ſenate.—But what inferences may not nations draw from this very principle as to the nature of their plots? Does it not entitle us to ſay, that the whole of the French revolution is nothing more than the offspring of that oath, of that premeditated determination of overturning the altar, the throne, and ſociety, which the Sect has infuſed into its adepts? It triumphs becauſe it knows how to *will*; hence it is evident, that to render their efforts abortive we need only reſolutely to *will* the ſalvation of the altar, of the throne, and of ſociety, and they are ſaved. Let it not be ſaid, that the Jacobins alone can be ſteady in their cauſe

and predetermined on their object. To know the evils with which the revolution threatens you, and to determine boldly and resolutely to counteract them, does not certainly dispense us from the obligation of applying to the means, and of making the necessary efforts and sacrifices to deliver us from the scourge; yet do not let it be tho't that it is idle in me to insist on that boldness, sincerity, and determination. The French revolution is in its nature similar to our passions and vices: it is generally known, that misfortunes are the natural consequences of indulging them; and one would willingly avoid such consequences: but a faint-hearted resistance is made; our passions and our vices soon triumph, and man is hurried away by them.

But should I, on the contrary, have succeeded in inspiring you with the courage necessary to make you act with resolution; if you need but to know the true means of counteracting the Sect to adopt a firm resistance; then I may boldly say, the Sect is crushed, the disasters of the revolution shall disappear.—But the reader, whose humanity might be alarmed at my saying *the Sect is crushed*, should remember that when I said *the Sect must be crushed or society overthrown*, I took care immediately to add, "Let it however be remembered, that to crush a Sect is "not to imitate the fury of its apostles, intoxicated with its "sanguinary rage and propense to enthusiastic murder.— "The Sect is monstrous, but all its disciples are not mon- "sters;—*yes, strike the Jacobin, but spare the Man*; the "Sect is a sect of opinion; and its destruction will be "doubly complete on the day when it shall be deserted "by its disciples, to return to the true principles of rea- "son and social order."* It is to reclaim the unfortunate victims of Jacobinism from their errors, and to restore them to society, not to butcher them, that I have been so long examining and tracing all the tortuous windings of the Sect; and I am overjoyed to see that such weapons for self-preservation are the natural result of these Memoirs. How different are these arms from those with which the Sect has provided its disciples.

The Jacobins have seduced nations by means of a subterraneous warfare of illusion, error, and darkness.—Let the honest men oppose them with wisdom, truth, and light.

* See Preliminary Discoourse, Vol. I. P. xiii.

The Jacobins are waging againſt Princes and Governments a war of hatred of the laws and of ſocial order—a war of rage and deſtruction; let a war of ſociety, humanity, and ſelf-preſervation be waged againſt them.

The Jacobins are waging a war of impiety and corruption againſt the altars and religion of every nation; let morality, virtue, and repentance be oppoſed to them.

I explain:—when I ſpeak of a ſubterraneous warfare of illuſion, error, and darkneſs waged by the Sect, I allude to the productions of its ſophiſters, to the artifices of its emiſſaries, and to the myſteries of its clubs, lodges, and ſecret ſocieties. It would be uſeleſs to conteſt the point; for we have incontrovertibly demonſtrated, that thoſe have been the preparatory means for all its revolutionary triumphs. It is by ſuch means that Jacobiniſm has inſinuated itſelf under the ſpecious forms of a diſorganizing Equality and Liberty, or of a chimerical Sovereignty of the People, which has ever been the cant of thoſe factious tribunes, who, by flattering their pride, ſought to enſlave that ſame people. It is by retailing all the ſophiſticated doctrines of the Rights of Man to the multitude, by violent declamations againſt the exiſting laws, by captious and fallacious deſcriptions of a ſuppoſed happineſs which they are preparing for us, by urging nations on to *certain eſſays at leaſt*; by ſuch means do the emiſſaries of Jacobiniſm ſeduce nations, and imperiouſly ſway that public opinion which will ſooner level your ramparts than all the artillery that they can bring againſt them. From ſuch inconteſtable facts I conclude, that if it be your intention to guard againſt the misfortunes which have befallen France, you muſt begin by diſarming the Sect of all its means of illuſion. Snatch from the hands of the people all thoſe incendiary productions; but when I ſay people, I mean from every claſs of ſociety; for I know none that are proof againſt illuſion; more particularly would I ſay, from that claſs which has been ſuppoſed to have been moſt abundant in learning, that claſs of literary ſophiſters, ſuch as our Voltaires, D'Alemberts, Rouſſeaus, Diderots, our academicians, and our doctrineers of the reading ſocieties; for this is the claſs of all others that has ſhown us the example of the powerful illuſion of ſophiſtry. It was from this claſs that the revolutionary miniſters Necker and Turgot ſtarted up; from this claſs aroſe thoſe grand revolutionary agents, the Mirabeaux, Syeyes, Laclos, Con-

dorcets; thoſe revolutionary trumps, the Briſſots, Champforts, Garats, Merciers, Paſtorets, Gudins, La Metheries, Lalandes, Cheniers; thoſe revolutionary butchers, the Carras, Frerons, Marats; I will alſo ſay of that claſs of advocates ſo verboſe and fertile in delirium; for from among them ſprung the Targets, Camus, Treillards, Barreres, and all the tyrants of the revolution, the Reveillère-Lepaux, Reubels, Merlins, and Robeſpierres. What have all theſe men proved, whether taken from the academies or from the bar?—that if they were the perſons whoſe talents enabled them to repreſent all this ſophiſtry of impiety, of ſedition, and rebellion, in the moſt ſeducing colours, they were alſo the perſons that were moſt eaſily imbued with and drank moſt deeply of the poiſon;—they were at once the moſt readily tainted and the moſt eager to taint others.—No; I can make no exception of claſſes; none are entitled to an exception when I exclaim to Magiſtrates and Sovereigns—Will you ſave the people from the diſaſters of the French Revolution?—then ſnatch from their hands thoſe incendiary productions—thoſe libels of impiety and ſedition. Let that man be puniſhed as a traitor, who writes and circulates ſuch writings, conſcious of the injury he is doing to ſociety; let him meet with the fate of a madman, if he thinks he can ſeduce, and ſtop the conſequences of ſeduction.

But I hear clamours on all ſides ariſing in the literary world, of intolerance, of tyranny, of cramping genius!—I foreſaw that I ſhould have to treat with men lukewarm in the cauſe, ſaying they were determined, nevertheleſs unwilling; ſaying they deteſted the revolution, but timorous when it is to be cruſhed in the germ. But you, at leaſt, who profeſs to enlighten nations by your writings, to point out maxims to Princes for the happineſs of their people, you who demonſtrate the goodneſs of your intentions by the purity of your principles, by your zeal in defence of the laws, by the wiſdom of your writings, is it from you, I aſk, that ſuch cries ariſe?—No, no: ſhackles thrown on the venemous writer circulating his poiſons, will never give concern to the honeſt writer; againſt laws prohibiting poignards none will rebel but the aſſaſſin. Let us no longer be led away by the ſtale cries of Liberty of the Preſs, Liberty of Genius; ſuch cries in the mouths of the Jacobins will be but a ſhallow cover to their deſigns;—ſee what the Sect does itſelf, leſt any writ-

er ſhould open the eyes of the people by the expoſition of real truth; wherever the adepts have acquired dominion, aſk what is to be underſtood by liberty of thinking, of ſpeaking, of writing. They deſtroy not only the author, but ſeller, and even buyer of every book that combats their ſyſtems. The printing preſſes of Crapard, the publications of La Harpe, or the diſcourſe of Camille du Jourdan, are ſo many conſpiracies puniſhed by the Pentarques, with exile to Cayenne. It is high time for nations to open their eyes, and diſpel the illuſion of all this pretended oppreſſion of thought and genius. If Magiſtrates are the dupes of ſuch outcries, the people are the victims, and nations muſt be preſerved from the illuſion that they may be ſaved from the revolution. It is the act of a father and not of a tyrant, that takes from the hands of his children ſuch inſtruments as may prove fatal to them.

Let the ſophiſter talk of uſeful diſcuſſions. Go to antiquity, and queſtion the Roman ſenate why it drove from the ſoil of the republic that ſwarm of Sophiſts* juſt arrived from the Grecian ſhores, ſo expert in the quibbling arts; and the ſenate will anſwer, that they do not enter into diſcuſſions to know whether the plague is uſeful, that they haſten to ſeparate from their fellow countrymen whoever has been tainted with it, and to deſtroy whatever may propagate it. Guard the people, therefore, againſt ſuch vile ſeducers; tremble at the effects of their diſcourſes; but fear ſtill more the poiſons of their impious and ſeditious productions.

Your laws pronounce death againſt a traitor, though he betrayed his conſpiracy but by a ſingle word; and a conſpiring ſophiſter may commune and habitually converſe with all your ſubjects by means of his writings! he is in the midſt of your families; he inſtils his principles into your children; his arguments become more and

* The word *ſophiſter* has been made uſe of throughout this work, to diſtinguiſh the modern rebels from the Greek Philoſophers of the ſchool of Sophiſts. Johnſon, in his dictionary, defines SOPHISTER as a *diſputant fallaciouſly ſubtle; an artful but inſidious logician;* ſuch is the ſpecies of men that have been deſcribed in this work, who, conſcious of their own fallacy, but acting the part of Satan to pervert mankind, ſhould never be confounded with thoſe men of antiquity whoſe ſyſtems of diſputation may have been fallacious, but whoſe intentions were upright, and who did not combat every ſacred or ſocial principle in hopes of ſubverting ſociety. *Tranſ.*

more cogent; he dwells on them; they are preſented under all the dazzling colors that a perfidious genius could invent after a long ſtudy how to ſeduce your offspring, lead them aſtray, or ſtir them up to revolt againſt you! The treaſon ſpoken by the Jacobin, and for which he has been puniſhed, may have made but a ſlight impreſſion on his hearers; but this labored and ſtudied concatenation of ſophiſms will make a deep impreſſion. Your laws muſt be inefficient indeed if the revolutionary writer is not ſtamped as the moſt baneful of conſpirators; and, Magiſtrate? whoever you are, you muſt be moſt unmindful of your duty, if you allow his writings to circulate freely through town and country.

Are you ſtill a ſtranger to the immenſe power that ſuch productions has given to the Sect? The revolution has not been ungrateful, and its gratitude points out its progenitors. Follow the Jacobin to the pantheon; ſee to whom he has decreed honors, to whom he does homage; aſk him how Voltaire or Jean Jaques can have deſerved ſuch tribute, ſuch honors. He will tell you, that thoſe men are no more, but that their ſpirit has ſurvived them in their writings, and more powerfully combat for the cauſe of Jacobiniſm than all their armed legions.—Here they prepare the minds and hearts of the people for our principles; there they gain over the public opinion to our cauſe; and when once that has declared for us, we may boldly proceed to certain triumph. Should ſuch honors dazzle any writer for an inſtant, let him ſtop and behold the ſhades of the victims ſacrificed to the revolution flitting round the monuments erected to theſe revolutionary deities; ſee them ghaſtly and enraged, paſſing from the urn that contains the aſhes of Voltaire to that of Rouſſeau; hear them exclaim in bitter reproaches,—"Be ſatiated with the fumes of Jacobin incenſe! It is not on Jacobins that we call down vengeance from heaven, for you were our real murderers! You are now the object of their adoration; but you were our firſt executioners, you brought our King to the ſcaffold, you ſtill continue to be the butchers of our progeny.—O ye Idols of blaſphemy and of anarchy! may their blood, may our blood, may all the blood that ſhall be ſpilt by the brigands formed at your ſchools, fall back upon you!"

Ye whom the God of ſociety has endowed with talents which you may turn to the detriment or conſerva-

tion of ſociety, beware that ſuch curſes do not fall upon you, flee from any thing that may breed remorſe. Be not dazzled with the jacobinical tribute paid to theſe ſophisters of darkneſs; they may have ſucceeded in obſcuring the light; it is your duty to rend the cloud aſunder, and bear in triumph the fundamental truths. The God who formed man for ſociety did not give him the code of Equality and Liberty, the code of Rebellion and Anarchy. The God who ſupports ſociety by the wiſdom of the laws, never abandoned the making or ſanctioning of thoſe laws to the caprice of the multitude. The God who has pointed out the empire and ſtability of the laws as inherent to that ſubordination of the citizens to the magiſtrates, and to their ſovereigns, did not create as many magiſtrates and ſovereigns as he did citizens. The God that has bound all claſſes together by their mutual wants, and who, in conſequence of this diverſity of wants, has endowed men with a variety of talents for different arts and profeſſions, has not given the ſame rights to the mechanic or to the ſhepherd as he has to the prince that is to preſide over the ſtate. Reſtore to theſe ſimple and plain truths, all that reſplendency which has for a moment been obſcured by the ſophiſters of rebellion; and the dangers of the revolution will ſoon diſappear. Be as earneſt in reſtoring the people to light, as the Jacobins have been in plunging them into darkneſs. Reſtore them to their principles pure and untarniſhed. There is no compounding with error; the Sect cares not by which road illuſion may lead you to revolution, provided you do but fall a victim. Some it will attack with anti-religious ſophiſms, while it tampers with others by means of its antiſocial ſophiſtry. To ſome it will unfold but a part of the conſequences to be drawn, point out but one half of the career that is to be run, or, under pretence of reform, propoſe ſome few eſſays or new means to be tried. But far be driven from us theſe demi-geniuſes of demi-revolutions with their long train of demi-conſequences? This is the tribe whence the Sect will ſelect a La Fayette or a Necker, puſh them forward as long as they can ſerve the cauſe, and then abandon ſuch non-entities; or thoſe open rebels ſtyling themſelves *Conſtitutionaliſts*, or thoſe others called (probably through deriſion) *Monarchiſts*. They were the beginners of the revolution, and are at this preſent day imbecile enough to teſtify their ſurprize at other

rebels having ſhivered a ſceptre which they had begun by disjointing. Writers of this ſpecies, ſo far from enlightening the people, only contribute to lead them into the path of error; and that was the taſk of the firſt revolutionary adepts.

In your writings beware of falling into an error ſimilar to that of a celebrated author, who thinks he is ſerving the cauſe of monarchy when deſcribing religion as a fruitleſs ally. How is it poſſible that he ſhould not better feel the conſequences of that ſarcaſtic ſentence borrowed from Bayle and Rouſſeau, he who, in the midſt of the moſt preſſing and moſt appoſite exhortations to princes to unite and combine againſt Jacobiniſm, forgets himſelf ſo far as to ſay, "In a ſimilar criſis, the Romans would have flown "to arms reſolved to conquer or die, *the primitive Chris-* "*tians would have ſung hymns to Providence and ruſhed* "*to martyrdom*; their ſucceſſors neither die nor fight.*" Moſt undoubtedly, it cannot be the intention of the author to revive that contempt which the Sophiſters ſo much affect for Religion; but what a falſe policy to repreſent that alledged nullity as inherent to Chriſtianity at a time when the courage of nations ſhould be ſtirred up againſt the revolutionary tyrants! Happily it is not true, that the primitive Chriſtians would only have ſung hymns to Providence and ruſhed on to martyrdom. The primitive Chriſtians were not ideots; they did not confound the legitimate powers, which they could only oppoſe by the courage of martyrs, with the uſurped power of a tyrant or of barbarians that came to inundate the empire. They could conquer or die under the ſtandard of the Cæſars as manfully as the Romans; nay, they ſurpaſſed them in courage and reſignation, and their apologiſts were well grounded when they ſet the Sophiſters at defiance to point out a ſingle coward or traitor among the Chriſtian legions. In our days too, did thoſe heroic Chriſtians of the Vendee content themſelves with ſinging hymns, they whoſe courage was more terrible to the republicans than all the combined forces of Clairfait or Beaulieu? Where have we ſeen any of our emigrants that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their piety, chanting hymns to Providence during the hour of battle? Whence this triple

* *Mercure Britannique*, Vol. I. No. IV. P. 292.

inſult to the Chriſtian hero, to his religion, and to the very evidence of reaſon? Whence this affectation of repreſenting the powerful and active incitements of Chriſtianity as uſeleſs to governments? Is not the crown of a ſoldier dying for laws or for his king, which his God commands him to defend, as valuable as your laurel-wreath? Tell then the Chriſtian ſoldier, that the coward and the traitor ſhall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven, and ſee whether he will not conquer or die. You think that you are ſerving the cauſe of ſociety againſt Jacobiniſm by repreſenting Chriſtianity as imbecility. Jacobins would reward ſuch ſarcaſtic ſentences, becauſe they foreſee their conſequences. Are our writers then to be always outwitted by theirs; they can combine their efforts againſt the altar and the throne; and ſhall we never be able to defend the one without betraying the intereſts of the other?

What can be the cauſe of ſuch imprudence, ſuch falſe lights? Neither do they ſtudy ſufficiently the Sect nor its artifices. They wiſh to be blind to its power, and even to its influence. I alſo am an admirer of the vigor of that ſame writer, who ſeeks to ſtir up the courage of nations; but ſhould he miſtake the real cauſes of our misfortunes, what have we not to fear from writers who are endowed neither with his knowledge or his energy? Will not the Sect rejoice to hear him ſay, "it is far more to that continental fataliſm than to the Illuminees, that we are to "attribute the lethargy of the higher orders of ſociety?" I know not what *continental* or inſular *fataliſm* can ſignify. God forbid that Princes ſhould for an inſtant believe in it, for it would only be immerſing them ſtill deeper in their lethargy. No efforts are made againſt fatality; I know, at leaſt, that the Illuminees would rejoice to ſee no credit given to their exiſting influence; for the leſs they ſhall be feared in conſequence of your writings, fewer will be the precautions taken to guard againſt them. I am poſitive, that had you ſtudied one half of the arts employed by the Inſinuators to ſeduce the higher claſſes, and even courts themſelves, you would be the firſt to find a very different cauſe than *fataliſm* for the continental lethargy.*

* It is evident, however, that the author of the *Britiſh Mercury* never wiſhed to favor the *Illuminees*. He is as indignant

Far be from me the abſurd pretenſion of alone enjoying the means of giving uſeful counſels. It is, on the contrary, becauſe I wiſh that the public ſhould be improved by your's, that I am eager to ſee you better informed of the real cauſe of all our misfortunes. I could wiſh to ſee a holy league formed of ſuch men of talents as are really actuated with a true zeal againſt the revolutionary errors. My reader has ſeen the baneful effects of that coalition of the ſophiſticated writers of Holbach's Club, of the Sophiſters of the Maſonic and of the Illuminized Lodges; he has ſeen the influence of their principles on the public opinion, and of opinion on our misfortunes; why ſhould not virtuous and learned writers then unite in their efforts to bring back the public opinion and the people to the true principles, by laying open all the artifice and cunning that has been employed by the Sect to ſeduce them.

The Code has been explicit on the means to be employed for the ſeduction of youth, a time of life moſt acceſſible to illuſion. Will not virtuous fathers take upon

as we are at the ſucceſſes of the *inept Philoſophiſts* of *modern republicaniſm*, of that revolutionary warfare waging againſt property and the laws, of thoſe young Jacobins juſt coming from the Univerſity of Gottinguen. He is indignant at the audacity of the *revolutionary letters* and of the *northern league*, that is to ſay, of a *company of Theologians, Profeſſors, and Philoſophers of Holſtein*, who aſk to form a central aſſembly, having under it ſubordinate committees to form and direct *public education, without being under any control of government, laws or religion* (P. 292). He would have ſpoken juſt as we have done of the *Illuminees*, had he known theſe *philoſophical* abſurdities and their ſucceſſes to be the work of the Sect; that the youths come from Gottinguen were juſt arriving from a haunt of Illuminiſm; that the northern league is nothing more than a branch of the *German Union* invented by the Illuminee Bahrdt: that the plan of education originated with the *Illuminee Campe*, heretofore paſtor and preacher to the garriſon of Potzdam. called to Brunſwick, protected by the firſt miniſter, and decorated with the appellation of *French Citizen*, in recompenſe for what he has more particularly written on the independency of education.—*(See the Univerſal Reviſion of every thing relating to Schools, Vol. VI).* I ſhall therefore repeat. Study the Sect, ſtudy its code, its hiſtory; ſtudy its means for ſeducing the Great; and, ſo far from deſpiſing the influence of the Sect, you will find the cauſe of that diſaſtrous lethargy which has ſeized on men whoſe duty it is to be moſt active, far better explained than by your *Fataliſm*.

themſelves to diſcard from their children maſters of ſuſpicious characters, and books that diſſeminate theſe poiſons? Will not governments take as much pains to drive the adepts from the pulpit, from the chairs of ſcience and profeſſorſhips, as we have ſeen the Sect taking to make itſelf maſter of education and to corrupt youth? Unhappy we, ſhould the reader be affrighted at the detail of ſuch precautions, while the Sect attends to each particularity, and we have ſeen it as eager for the nomination of a country ſchoolmaſter, as for the ſucceſs of an adept at court, or the nomination of the general who is to command its legions.

One ſpecies of illuſion appears to be the favorite engine of Jacobiniſm, I mean that theory of eſſays in government, and thoſe demi-reforms. No art has been more powerfully played off on the Engliſh nation than this; let the people be put on their guard againſt this illuſion; let them be taught, that France alſo began by eſſays and demi-reforms; I need not hint at their conſequences. If it be neceſſary to humble the pride of the Jacobin Sophiſter, and blight the very idea of that pretended happineſs which they attach to their ſyſtems, let the people learn that ſuch eſſays have long ſince been made; that the brigands who appeared under the different denominations of Lollards, Begards, followers of John Wall, of Maillotin, and of Muncer, all promiſed the ſupreme happineſs of Equality and Liberty; that it was perfectly uſeleſs to talk to us of the *Philoſophy* of a revolution that was nothing more than the repetition of the errors of certain Sects of which the barbarous and devaſtating tenets could only be equalled by the horror and contempt in which they are held by our anceſtors. When, under pretence of arguing on certain truths the Jacobin ſeeks to lead you into diſcuſſion, guard againſt his ſophiſtry, by anſwering, that no argumentation can be held with Weiſhaupt or Robeſpierre; the firſt will retail all the arguments of former brigands, the latter does what they did; for if our modern Jacobins have invented any thing of their own, it is a little more artifice and an unparalleled ferocity. They are then the more entitled to our contempt and hatred.

If every where encountered by this two-fold ſentiment, the Sect will ſoon loſe that power of illuſion which has prepared its triumphs, and you will ſee it ſhrinking back

into its ſubterraneous lurking places, the occult Lodges which have ſo long ſince offered it an aſylum. There it will once more attempt to recruit its legions, and contrive plots for the ſubverſion of the altar, of the throne, and of ſociety. But here what honeſt citizen can be blind to his duty? Under whatever name, pretence, or form, the magiſtracy may have thought proper to tolerate theſe clubs, ſubterraneous hiding-places, or Lodges of ſecret ſocieties, what proofs are they waiting for to proſcribe them all, now that they have ſeen legions of conſpirators ſallying forth from theſe receſſes? You who look upon yourſelves as entitled to an honorable exception, why are you ſeated there ſtill? You are tender of your perſonal loyalty, of your fidelity to your religion and to your country, how can you make ſuch ſentiments agree with your predilection for Lodges that you know to have been the aſylum of the moſt conſpiring Sects? Do not pretend that it is us, for it is the Jacobins, the moſt monſtrous chiefs of the Jacobins, their correſpondence, their ſpeeches, and all the archives of their hiſtory, that have unfolded to you the immenſe ſupport they have derived from your myſteries and from all your *ſecret ſocieties*, in the proſecution of their conſpiracies againſt *ſociety in general*, againſt all laws, and againſt every altar. In vain ſhall you attempt to hide it; no part of hiſtory can be better authenticated; theſe conſpiracies are proved at any rate to have gained admittance into your Lodges, and to have acquired ſtrength and numbers from them. Your particular Lodge may not be one of thoſe with whoſe honor the Sect has tampered; we are willing to believe it; but what proofs can you adduce? the Sect knows too well how to clothe perjury in the garb of innocence.—We are willing to believe it, and that will be another motive why we ſhould conjure you in the name of your country to abandon thoſe Lodges. Your preſence is only a cloak for conſpirators. The more unblemiſhed may be your character of honor, the more will the conſpiring adepts boaſt of your name, and of the fraternity and intimacy in which you live with them.—We addreſs our complaints to you yourſelves, but own that we have ſufficient grounds to addreſs them to the prince or to the ſenate; may we not with truth denounce you as demi-citizens, ſince by your oath the intereſts of the brotherhood are more dear to you than thoſe of your fellow-ſub-

jects? Are we not entitled to aſk, whether you are not a ſecret enemy to every citizen who has the intereſt of religion and his country at heart, ſince you are a member of a ſecret ſociety, under the cloak of which a multitude of brethren are conſpiring againſt our religion and our laws, and that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty? What right would you have to complain if the ſenate and your prince were to exclude you from your magiſtracy, or from every office that requires the whole attention of an impartial citizen, and on whom no ſuſpicion can alight, as it appears that your affection is at leaſt divided between ſociety in general and your ſecret ſocieties, as that affection, according to your own laws, muſt be greater for the members of your ſecret ſocieties than for us; ſince, in ſhort, it has been demonſtrated, that a large portion of the members of ſecret ſocieties are mere conſpirators? In vain will you object that you have never witneſſed any thing reprehenſible in the Lodges. Were you only initiated in the myſteries of the Grand Lodge of London, know, that notwithſtanding all the exceptions we have made in its favor, ſuſpicions are even caſt upon that Lodge, and a reviewer thinks himſelf founded in denying the validity of ſuch exceptions.* If you are ſo careleſs of your reputation as to remain inſenſible to ſuch ſuſpicions, allow me at leaſt to addreſs myſelf to you in the name of all mankind, whoſe intereſts you tell us are ſo dear to you.

No longer than a century ago the remaining part of Europe was nearly a ſtranger to your Lodges and their myſteries. You made it the baneful preſent; the new-erected Lodges have filled with Jacobins, and from them the moſt diſaſtrous ſcourge that has ever befallen the univerſe has ruſhed forth to produce theſe terrible effects; you imparted to them the myſteries of your Equality and of your Liberty; to combine and prepare them, you introduced them into your tenebrous aſylums; to prepare their pupils, you taught them your trials and your oaths; and that they might propagate their conſpiracies from pole to pole, you lent them your language, your ſymbols, your ſigns, your cypher, your directories, your hierarchy, and all the regulations for your inviſible correſpondence.

* See the Monthly Review, Appendix to Vol. XXXV. Page 504.

The offspring may have improved on the myſteries of their progenitors; but has not their conduct been ſuch as to make you abjure all connection with them; have not your Lodges been ſo prophaned as to make you haſten to abandon them; is not the diſaſtrous ſcourge that has burſt from them a ſufficient ground for eternally cloſing their gates? O you, whoſe fleets, under the protection of heaven, ride triumphant over the main, diſpelling the fleets of the Sect? O grant to the univerſe a victory, perhaps of ſtill greater importance. At the ſight of your admirals the Sect diſappears; drive then from its receſſes that bantling of yours; ſhow that if the abuſe of your myſterious aſſociations may in poſſibility be fatal to the univerſe, you are willing at leaſt to deprive the vile conſpirators of every plea that can tarniſh your glory. Show, that if ſports, innocent in your hands, could grow into a ſcourge in the hands of others, you are not backward in making a ſacrifice of ſuch utility to nations. Your example would be powerful; and it is incumbent on you to pronounce the anathema on ſecret ſocieties; to cloſe the gates of the Lodges, to cloſe them all without exception, nevermore to be opened, whatever may be the nature of their myſteries. None can exiſt into which the Sect will not attempt to penetrate; none can exiſt where the magiſtrate and honeſt citizen can ſit down certain that the Sect has not intruded with its plots and means of ſeduction. The more zealous you may be for the preſervation of our laws, the leſs will you be enabled to ſecure us againſt the plots of the Sect; for though it ſhall ever commune with you it will not lay its views open to you until it has ſeduced you. Maſons of England, what a fatal gift have you made to the world! May the hiſtorian who ſhall write the annals of this age, when ſpeaking of the ſcourge that has ruſhed forth from the Lodges, conclude by ſaying, if England made the baneful preſent to the univerſe, it was alſo the firſt to ſacrifice its own Lodges for the ſafety of nations.

Why ſhould not every honeſt Maſon on the Continent addreſs himſelf in terms ſimilar to thoſe in which we addreſs the Engliſh brotherhood? Their preſence would no longer be a cloak to the Myſteries of the conſpiring Jacobins. Left to themſelves, they could no longer plead the innocence of their Myſteries. If the Magiſtrates treated them with all the ſeverity of the law, he would not

have to fear the proteſts of honeſt citizens. Then would every thing denote that the time was come to ſtrike all ſecret ſocieties with the anathema of the laws; then would all the productions of the Sect be ſuppreſſed, or thrown away with indignation by every claſs of citizens. True principles only would be taught, and theſe would diſcard from the minds of the people all thoſe diſorganizing errors. The Sect once diſlodged from its lurking places, truth and light would diſpel that warfare of illuſion, error, and darkneſs, which, waged by the Sophiſters of Jacobiniſm, prepares the way for the triumphant entry of its deſtroying brigands.

But that long-expected day, that day of devaſtation and plunder foretold in the Myſteries, has dawned. In darkneſs have the adepts multiplied, and the legions of the Sect have ſallied forth. They now wage the war of pikes and deſtruction, they wave the firebrands of revolution, but have not abandoned the warfare of illuſion.—Sovereigns and Miniſters of Empires! It behoves you to ſtem the torrent of theſe men of blood by the marſhalled band of heroes whom you command. I do not pretend to ſtep over the threſhold of the chamber where our warriors ſet in council to deliberate on the means of vanquiſhing the Sect in the field of battle. But, to enſure the ſucceſs of your valorous efforts, may we intrude on your wiſdom to repreſent that force ſhould not attract your entire attention? The Jacobin is no common enemy. He wages a war of Sect, of proſelytiſm againſt you; and Sects are not to be vanquiſhed by the ſame arms as warriors waging a glorious war, or brigands ruſhing forth from their ungrateful ſhores in queſt of pillage and booty. The ſeat of conflict lies in opinions. The Jacobin has all the enthuſiaſm of the Sectary, and has alſo the force of arms; that you may overpower his arms, you ſhould know the object of his delirium.

I began by declaring, and think I have eſtabliſhed the poſition, that in this warfare of pikes and firebrands the Sect ſends forth its legions to ſhiver the ſcepter, not to fight the power; it has not promiſed to its adepts the crowns of Princes, Kings, and Emperors, but has required and bound thoſe adepts by an oath to deſtroy them all. In the Sovereign it is not the perſon that they hate; but it is the chief, the Miniſter of the Social Order. The war it wages againſt a nation is of a ſimilar complexion;

it is that war of opinion, which hates, not the Engliſhman, but the laws of the Engliſh, which abominates not the German, the Spaniard, or the Italian, but the God, the Altars, the Thrones, the Senates of the German, the Spaniard, or the Italian, in ſhort, of every people. Do not ſuffer yourſelf to be miſled; the Pentarques will certainly attempt to warp theſe plans and plots of the Sect, and make them ſubſervient to their own ambition; but have not the myſteries taught us, that the elevation of an Orleans, a Barras, or a Rewbel to the throne, never entered the mind of the adepts when they murdered their lawful Sovereign?——It may ſupport its tyrannic Pentarques in the deſtruction of kings and governments, but it will cruſh theſe tyrants in their turn, when they ſhall have completed the deſtruction of ſociety. It is not a new Empire that they are ſeeking to eſtabliſh; it is at the annihilation of every Empire, of all order, rank, diſtinction, property, and ſocial tie, that they aim. Such is the Ultimate View of its myſteries of Equality and Liberty. Such is that reign of anarchy and abſolute independence, proclaimed in the ſubterraneous lurking-places, under the appellations of patriarchal reign, of the reign of Reaſon and of Nature.

Sovereigns, Miniſters, You who watch for the ſafety of the ſubject! Is it clear to you why we ſo much inſiſt on this general and predominating hatred as the ſole principle and object of this terrible war? Becauſe it immediately points out that it behoves you to combat this relentleſs foe by an ardor and zeal for the univerſal maintenance of ſocial order; becauſe it is now more than ever incumbent on you to caſt aſide all ideas of perſonal intereſt, that might counteract the general effort; becauſe, were it poſſible that the intereſts of the Sect could for a moment coincide with yours, it would be only a duty that you would fulfil in ſuſpending thoſe mutual reſentments or national jealouſies that have but too long nurtured enmities and bloodſhed; becauſe much woe will befal you, if you be imprudent enough to think but for an inſtant than you can either make the principles or the legions of the Sect the inſtruments of your vengeance, or of your perſonal views; for the powers you put in motion ſhall ſoon fall back upon you.

I am not one of thoſe who thought that they could trace ſuch a kind of policy in the firſt motions of the

French revolution, pretending that foreign powers had abetted the Jacobins with a view, if not to cruſh, at leaſt to weaken the ancient and powerful fabric of the French monarchy. I have probed the ſtrength of the Sect when it ruſhed from its dens. But let it not be overlooked by hiſtory; let the terrible example of that man who was held out as one of the greateſt politicians of the age, be ever preſent to the eyes of ſovereigns. The Sect began to demonſtrate the firſt elements of its Code of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the People; baneful policy ordered La Fayette, D'Eſtaing, and Rochambeau, to proceed to the ſuccor of a colony aſſerting its ſovereignty againſt its mother country. I do not pretend to diſcuſs the rights of London or of Philadelphia; but let the miniſter, the politician Vergennes riſe from his grave, he who in America would make, and in Holland abet, revolutions of the people equal and free; let him look to the throne, or ſeek the ſovereign whoſe intereſt he thought to ſerve when uſing the Sect as an engine of ſtate!! Let the miniſter of Joſeph II. I mean, Mercy D'Argenteau, come forth; let him behold to what an end the ſervices of that ſovereign populace would lead which he was about to aſſemble in Brabant, or the ſervices of *thoſe pretended friends to the public ſafety*, in other words, of the *emiſſaries* of the Sect, already omnipotent in Paris, or of thoſe Jacobins that he would receive and ſupport, that he might oppreſs through the means of anarchy.* No, the Sect that has ſworn to ſhiver every ſceptre will not avenge any quarrel of your's, or prove a ſupport in danger.—Baniſh then every idea of alliance or union with its principles and means! it can never loſe ſight of its Ultimate End; and if it ſhould affect to make a common cauſe with you in the annihilation of the throne that gives you umbrage, it will only be that it may find you ſtanding alone and deſtitute of allies when it ſhall turn back upon you.

To renounce ſuch temporary and diſaſtrous ſervices can be no great ſacrifice. When the common enemy of ſociety rears its head, is it not the duty of the chiefs of ſociety to forget all private quarrels, and unite in combating ſo formidable a foe? Every ſtep gained againſt it,

* See Letters on the Affairs of the Auſtrian Netherlands, Let. II. P. 31.

will be a ſtep gained for yourſelf, for your people, and for that portion of ſociety over which you preſide. Still farther from your mind be all thoſe ideas of cold economy, calculating the ſacrifices or efforts you will have to make, or the indemnities you may claim! When the houſe that joins your palace is in flames, do you think yourſelf ſafe becauſe you have not contributed to the conflagration? Or do you enquire what reward is offered for extinguiſhing the flames? More wildly avaricious, would you think of pillaging that houſe while the flames were communicating to your own? Save the univerſe, and you ſave your own empire. Every throne beat down by the Jacobin, reduces an obſtacle that he has to encounter in the attack of yours. Will the arſenals he ſhall pillage, will the requiſitions of men, and legions raiſed, in the newly conquered ſtates, enſure the indemnities you aſk; or do you expect, by complacency, flattery, and meanneſs, to have an exception made in your favor? Can you hope to ſee the Pentarques always preſerving their neutrality in your regard, becauſe for the moment they are pleaſed not to demand any farther ſacrifices from you? Or, when you deſert the common cauſe, will you ground your ſecurity on treaties of peace, or even on treaties of alliance offenſive and defenſive? O virtue! what deſertion of the common cauſe! O ſhame! O cowardice! No, the very idea of ſuch treaties could never have entered your mind, had you been acquainted with the Sect that propoſes them. You have ſigned them; but you do not enjoy peace, not even a neutrality. You are its ſlave. You are only the mouth-piece of its imperious dictates, until the Sect ſhall chooſe to ſtrip you of even the ſemblance of authority.—You will tell us, perhaps, that you have been neuter in the conteſt; that is to ſay, you have not dared to attack the Jacobin that only waits to drag you into ſlavery till he ſhall have cruſhed thoſe with whom you ſhould have leagued, and who could have defended you or avenged your death.—You have lived in peace with the common enemy of ſociety! You have ſworn to abandon ſociety to be butchered, thrones to be annihilated and ſceptres to be ſhivered; and this without ſhowing the leaſt reſiſtance. —Have you made treaties of alliance? then you have ſworn to ſupport the deſtroying hordes, and to contribute towards the deſtruction and devaſtation of ſociety.

You are ſenſible as we are of the ſhame, of the igno-

miny, of such a neutrality, peace, or alliance.—But a superior force commands. . . . Then say that you are vanquished, that you are a slave to the Sect, and we shall then ask, if on no occasion a valiant death be preferable to slavery? Is that throne saved, around which you still hover, by permission of the Sect, merely as the mouth-piece of its commands? Are your people saved, who are obliged to sully their hands with the crimes inherent to Jacobins? Is that slave free, who, chained to the bench of the gallies, can only handle his oars in the service of a pirate? If you still preserve any glimmerings of Liberty, if your strength be not entirely exhausted, rise, Oh! rise once more, and fight the battles of society!—Could you still be lead astray by that flitting semblance of authority which the Sect has allowed you, hearken to Jean de Brie, proposing in the name of the Sect, in the midst of its legislators, to raise a legion of *twelve hundred assassins*, and to send them, not to kill *one* king, but to *murder every king!* Did not those legislators announce to you in terms sufficiently clear the fate which they intended for you and your people, when they declared that they would *fraternize* with every nation that wished to shake off its laws or rise against its magistrates and sovereign?* Would you wish to persuade yourself that there exists a single king who is not comprehended within the revolutionary proscription, go and assist at the annual celebration of the festival held by the Sect in honor of the murderers of their king; go and hearken to their constituted authorities, and to the ambassadors whom they send to the neutral or allied Powers, all solemnly swearing the oath of hatred to royalty. You have seen the adepts teaching in the universities, that but a few more years will elapse before the last mysteries of the Sect shall be accomplished; then neither king nor magistrate shall exist, nor a single nation, country, or society governed by laws. And with such a prospect before you, do you still hesitate at throwing aside petty jealousies and personal interests? Shall pretensions, mistrusts, and enmities, between king and king, or nation and nation, disunite you, when society calls upon you for the defence not only of your own crown but of every crown, not only of your own nation but of every nation wherever laws are recognized?

* Decree of the 9th November, 1792.

It is not yet too late. Nations are ſtill more powerful than the Sect; let then every nation unite; let their kings, their ſenates, their people, join in the common cauſe; let every man living in the ſtate of ſociety conſider the warfare waged by the Sect againſt ſociety and property as aimed at his own perſon. Shall the heart of the Jacobin alone be inflamed by the fire of enthuſiaſm? Shall the deſolation of your country, the deſtruction of your altars, of your laws, of your fortunes, the devaſtation of your towns and manſions, the tearing away of your children, not rouſe you from your lethargy? Shall not ſuch ſights inſpire you with courage, are they not inducements for ſacrifices as powerful at leaſt as the enthuſiaſm of delirium in the Jacobin? Shall it ſtill continue to be ſaid, that the Brigands alone know the power and ſtrength of union? Every where they are one; they have but one object in view; they all ſerve but one and the ſame cauſe; they are brethren wherever they meet, merely becauſe they univerſally aim at the deſtruction of the ſocial order. May chiefs of nations then unite in one common tie of affection; for it is the common intereſt of all and each of them to preſerve that ſocial order. Such would be my definition of a war of zeal for ſociety, a war entirely directed againſt the Sect, and the only means of depriving it of thoſe reſources which it may have but too plentifully drawn from politicians hacknied in wars of vengeance, jealouſy, and ambition, but little accuſtomed to the idea of ſuch ſacrifices as wars for the general intereſt of ſociety may require.

When I thus wiſh to ſtir up all nations to make but one power, but one nation in the common cauſe; when I thus wiſh to ſee them all actuated by the ſame zeal and ardor for combating the Sect; the reader may be tempted to aſk me, what is become of the war of humanity, of ſelf-preſervation, that I wiſhed to ſee oppoſed to that warfare of fury, deſtruction, and of ſanguinary rage againſt ſociety?—Doubtleſs, it muſt afflict me thus to ſound the general alarm, which calls your embattled legions into the field of Mars; but when we behold thoſe of the Sect nurtured on blood and carnage; when thouſands and hundreds of thouſands of citizens, whoſe ſluggard tranquillity and averſion to reſiſtance could not ſave them from falling victims; when women, aged parents, and even children, have been butchered ſo recently in the mountains

of Switzerland, juſt as they had been before in the fields of La Vendée, and in divers parts of France; when in every country into which the Sect can penetrate, the inhabitants muſt either bend the knee to adore the idol, or periſh beneath the pikes; who will be the true friend to humanity? Will that man ſet himſelf down for a friend to humanity, and as having preſerved ſociety, who would let the armies of the Sect ſucceſſively proceed from Brabant into Holland, from Savoy into Switzerland, from Piedmont into the Milanois, and from thence to Rome, every where overturning ſocial order, becauſe the Sect every where met but with a feeble and partial reſiſtance?—Which then ſhall be the true friend to humanity, the man who permits the ſcourge to extend and ravage all Europe, or he who excites you to cruſh the germ of ſuch horrors? Will the preſerver of your life be the man who, fearing to probe your wound, ſhall let mortification engender in your fleſh; or he who, employing the cauſtic or the blade, ſhall conſume or amputate the decayed part to preſerve the body? Had the counſellors of ſuch a cruel humanity foreſeen that a Sect, whoſe empire is terror, whoſe means are thoſe of brigands and aſſaſſins, was not to be overpowered by their perfidious complaiſance, what horrors, and what rivers of blood, would have been ſpared. What numberleſs citizens has that reign of terror chained to the ſtandards of the Sect, citizens even who abhorred it!—And what numbers would have joined your ſtandard, in defiance of the reign of terror, had they ſeen you waging a war againſt the Sect, and not a war of ambition. I never aſſiſted at the councils of princes, and am willing to believe that my fellow-countrymen have formed an erroneous judgment, and that the reports of partitioning and of ambitious views may even have originated with the Sect, ſince it acquires ſuch empire through its means; that error has recruited the ranks of the Sect with ſoldiers whoſe courage and lives would have been at your diſpoſal, had you found means of convincing them that you had fled to arms ſolely to vindicate the cauſe of monarchy, of their religion, and of their laws; had they not been led to think, that between two enemies they were obliged to repulſe that which was coming, not to defend them, but to profit by their diſſenſions, and deliver up their country to pillage, or make them ſhare the fate of Venice or Poland!—Deprive the Jacobins of this vain pretext; let every peo-

ple that groans under the bondage of the Sect learn from your candid declarations, ſupported by your deeds, that you only come as their ſaviour and liberator, that your legions have no other object in view than the reſtoring of them to the bleſſings of ſocial order.

But whither am I wandering, and what was I about to promiſe? Shall the fate of my country, the deſtiny of empires, ſolely depend on the ſtrength of armies? There is a war far more terrible than that of brigands, which the Sect wages againſt us. The amazing progreſs of impiety, the corruption of morals, and general apoſtacy of an age ſtyling itſelf the age of Philoſophy; theſe are the real arms of the Sect, the grand ſource of all misfortunes. Ye who may be affrighted at theſe truths becauſe they may affect you more particularly, turn back to the cauſes of our misfortunes, and you will trace them all to this apostacy.

Infuriate as a demoniac of blaſphemy, a diſaſtrous Sophiſter exclaimed, I will not ſerve, my Reaſon ſhall be free. The God of Revelation may perſecute me, but I will perſecute him; I will raiſe a ſchool againſt him, I will ſurround myſelf with conſpiring adepts, I will ſay to them *Cruſh the Wretch*—Cruſh J— C—. This ſchool was eſtabliſhed on the earth; kings and great men applauded the doctrines of this demoniac; they reliſhed them becauſe they flattered and unbridled their paſſions. This was the firſt ſtep towards the revolution. Do not come and plague me with idle repreſentations; turn to the archives of the impious man whom thou haſt idolized; there are my proofs. Princes, Nobles, Lords or Knights, ſuch was the crime, I will not ſay of each of you in particular, but ſo predominant among you, that I may in ſome ſort call it the crime of your corps. The miniſters of that God whom you abandoned admoniſhed you of the ſcourges with which apoſtates are threatened, and told you that your example would be fatal to your people as well as to yourſelves. Do you remember how their menaces were received? Attend for a moment to the acts of that ſchool which you ſet up in oppoſition to us. Heaven, in its wrath, has permitted the offſpring of the ſophiſters to multiply like unto the locuſts. They thought themſelves the Gods of Reaſon; they alſo raiſed their voices, declaring that they would not ſerve; but, turning their eyes toward you, they added, oppreſſion and tyranny has placed

men like unto us upon thrones; chance of birth has made men Nobles and Grandees who are not so good as ourselves. They said it; and that Liberty which you asserted against your God, when stimulated by your passions, they now assert against you at the instigation of their pride. —They conspire against the throne and the nobility that surrounds it. Abandoned to your blindness, you courteously received this cloud of sophisters, just as you had received their progenitor.—The priests of the living God came once more and admonished you, that this school of impiety would not only operate the ruin of the church, but sweep away into the common mass of ruin Kings, Princes, Laws, and Magistrates. Reason called as loudly on you as your priests; but you had turned away from Revelation, and you refused to hearken to the voice of reason.

The God whom you daily irritated by your apostacy permitted this cloud of Sophisters to descend into the abyss of the Lodges, and there, under pretence of Masonic pursuits, the occult adepts combined their conspiracies against the altar, the throne, and all distinctions, with those of the pretended sages whose dupes you have been. The adepts now multiplied as fast as the Sophisters.—Under the auspices of another pretended Sage, who could improve on every species of impiety and blasphemy, a new Sect is fostered under the name of Illuminees.—These, like the hero of your apostacy, swore to crush Christ, as his offspring swore to crush you yourselves; and in common with all brigands, swore to annihilate the empire of the laws.—Such has been the fruit of that Philosophism which you would so obstinately portray as true wisdom. At length to dissipate the illusion, and to call you back to the faith of his Gospel, far more than to avenge himself, what has your God done? He has silenced his prophets and the doctors of his law; he has said to them, "Discontinue those lessons with which you combat the delirium of these impious men. They raise their Reason up against me; it is my Son whom they have sworn to crush. They wish to reign alone over that people. They have taken upon themselves the important task of leading them to true happiness; I will let them act; I abandon that people to the wisdom of their new teachers. You, my priests and pontiffs, fly from amidst them, carry away with you the Gospel of my Son. Let their sages beat down his

altars; let them raiſe trophies in his temples to their heroes who had ſworn to cruſh him; and let that people proceed under the ſole direction of the light of their Reaſon. Begone, retire; together with my Son I abandon both the people and their grandees to their ſages; let thoſe ſages be their leaders, ſince they turn their backs upon me and my Son."

Frenchmen, the God of your forefathers has thus ſpoken. Oh, how deeply and eaſily can he confound *the prudence of prudent men and the wiſdom of ſages!* Go; proceed through that vaſt empire which he has abandoned to your pretended Philoſophy. His prieſts have abandoned it; his altars are beaten down; his goſpel is no longer to be found. Now calculate the crimes and diſaſters!! Go and wander among thoſe ruins, behold thoſe mazes and ſhapeleſs heaps of rubbiſh. Aſk of the people, what is become of thoſe millions of citizens that formerly thronged in their towns and fields; inquire what inundation of Vandals has devaſtated their land. What has been the fate of that town, that proudly towered in magnificent palaces, or thoſe other towns, the modern rivals of ancient Tyre? By what means have thoſe riches dwindled into nothing that were annually brought from the ſhores of the eaſt, or the Iſles of the weſt. Thoſe notes of mirth, thoſe rural ſongs, why have they given place to groans and complaints? Why is that brow, formerly the ſeat of content now knitted and downcaſt with terror; and why thoſe ſighs, that even the fear of being heard cannot ſuppreſs! All you inhabitants of France, who were formerly ſo happy under the laws of your forefathers, but at preſent victims to all the horrors of the revolution, have you not among ye its Philoſophers, the wiſdom of its Deiſts, of its Atheiſts, and of its Philanthropiſts? And you in particular, the diſciples, and for a long time the zealous protectors of all theſe revolutionary ſages, how comes it to paſs that you are now diſperſed on the face of all Europe, poor and deſerted? Is not that Philoſophy which you ſo much idolized now triumphant in the very centre of its empire?

Ah, how bitter would be ſuch language in the mouth of a God but too well revenged! Unhappy victims of your confidence in theſe falſe ſages! You now conceive how terrible it is to be abandoned to the empire of impiety! Confeſs at laſt, that your credulity, your confi-

dence in these heroes of Sophistry has been disastrous indeed! They promised you a revolution of wisdom, of light, of virtue; and they have cursed you with a revolution of delirium, extravagance and wickedness. They promised you a revolution of happiness, Equality, Liberty, of the golden age; and they have brought down upon you the most frightful revolution that a God, justly irritated by the pride and wickedness of men, has ever poured down upon the earth. Such is the end of all that impiety which it has pleased you to style Philosophy.

Never let any person pretend to dispute the prime cause of all our misfortunes. Voltaire and Rousseau are the heroes of your revolution, as they were of your Philosophism. It is now time to dissipate the illusion, if you with to see the scourge cease, and preserve yourself from a similar danger in future. You must work a revolution that will be the death-blow to that philosophism of impiety, if you wish to appease the God who has only permitted this scourge to befal man to avenge his Son. It is not by persisting in the outrage, by leaving your hearts a prey to the prime cause of all our misfortunes, that you will find the termination of them. The great crime of the Jacobin is his impiety; his great strength rests in yours. The powers of hell will second him when he combats against Christ; and will heaven, think ye, declare for you, so long as your morals and your faith shall declare you an enemy to the Son of God? By your impiety you become the brother of the Jacobin. You are a Jacobin of the revolution against the altar; and it is not by persisting in this hatred against the altar, that you will appease the God who avenges the altar by the revolution annihilating our thrones and our laws.

Such is the last and most important lesson that we are to derive from those scourges that have befallen us in the same gradation as the sophisters of impiety, the sophisters of rebellion, the sophisters of anarchy conspired.—O that I may have succeeded, when terminating these Memoirs, in engraving it deeply on the minds of my readers! May it more particularly contribute to pave the way for the restoration of religion, of the laws, and of happiness in my country!—May the researches that I have made to discover the causes of the revolution, be serviceable to nations that may still preserve themselves, or rid themselves of such disasters!—Then will that God who has supported me in my pursuit, have blessed my labors with an ample recompence.

NOTE

For the End of Volume IV. of the Memoirs illuſtrating the Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm.

ON publiſhing the Tranſlation of the Firſt Volume of theſe Memoirs, I declared that I conſidered myſelf as only *fulfilling a duty* in laying open ſo excellent a work to thoſe of my countrymen who were not ſufficiently verſed in the French language to read the original. The object of *the Author* throughout has been to ſhew the univerſal havock and deſolation with which theſe depredatory Sects have threatened all Europe; *Mine* has been to excite the vigilant attention of my countrymen, leſt they fall into the ſnares that are laid to entrap them. This will, I hope, be thought a ſufficient reaſon for the following more circumſtantial application to Ireland and Great Britain of the dreadful plots that have been detailed in theſe Memoirs.

IRELAND.

Ireland, ever ſince the year 1782, had preſented a perpetual ſcene of different aſſociations for different objects. The Volunteers had given riſe to much debate; the Roman Catholics had been actively employed in petitioning the legiſlature for the redreſs of certain grievances under which they labored; and their prayer was at length partly acceeded to.

The firſt appearance, however, of the aſſociation to which we now allude was in June, 1791. The propoſals for it are couched in the ſtyle and exact terms of the Hierophants of Illuminiſm. They recommend the formation of an aſſociation, or, as it is ſtyled, "a beneficent conſpiracy" to ſerve the people; aſſuming "the ſecrecy "and ſomewhat of the ceremonial attached to Freemaſonry." *Secrecy* is declared to be neceſſary to make "the bond of union more coheſive, and the ſpirit of uni- "on more ardent; to envelope the plan with ambiguity; "to facilitate its own agency; to confound and terrify

" its enemies by their ignorance of the deſign, extent, and " direction," &c. Its *Ceremonial* is alſo Maſonic, in order to create enthuſiaſm. " Let every member wear (day " and night) an amulet round his neck, containing the " great principle which unites the brotherhood, in letters " of gold, on a ribbon, ſtriped with all the original co- " lours, and incloſed in a ſheath of white ſilk, to repre- " ſent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the aboli- " tion of all ſuperficial diſtinctions, all colours, and ſhades " of difference, for the ſake of one illuſtrious End. Let " this amulet of union, faith, and honor, pendent from the " neck, and be bound about the body next to the ſkin, " and cloſe to the heart."—Maſonic Secrecy, Equality, and Union, cannot poſſibly be better deſcribed.

Its members are to be choſen from among men in the prime of life, without diſtinction of religion; true philanthropiſts, who are not bound down to obedience to that " *wizard word* EMPIRE, nor to the ſovereignty of two " ſounding ſyllables;" from among men, in ſhort, " who " know liberty, who wiſh to have it, and who are deter- " mined to live and die free-men, *(vivre libre ou mourir.)*

This aſſociation (at firſt called the Iriſh Brotherhood, and afterwards the United Iriſhmen) " will have, it is " ſaid, an eye provident and proſpective, a reach and am- " plitude of conception commenſurate to the progreſſive " diffuſion of knowledge;—it will make the light of phi- " lanthropy converge." Its END is declared to be " *The* " *rights of men in Ireland*; the greateſt happineſs of the " greateſt number in this Iſland; the inherent and inde- " feaſible claims of every free nation:" For, " the rights " of man are the rights of God; and to vindicate the one " is to maintain the other. We muſt be free, in order to " ſerve him whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom."

The Hierophant next proceeds to ſtate, that " to form " a ſummary of the national will and pleaſure in points " moſt intereſting to national happineſs, and then to put " this *doctrine* as ſpeedily as may be into practice, will be " the purpoſe of this *Central Society*, or *Lodge*, from " which other lodges in the different towns will radiate." The diſtinctions of rank, of property, and of religious perſuaſions, are to be aboliſhed; but whether any thing ſhort of " *great convulſion*" can effectually and ſpeedily procure the reform propoſed, is to be, with many other principles of ſedition, the ſubject of future diſcuſſion by the aſſociation.

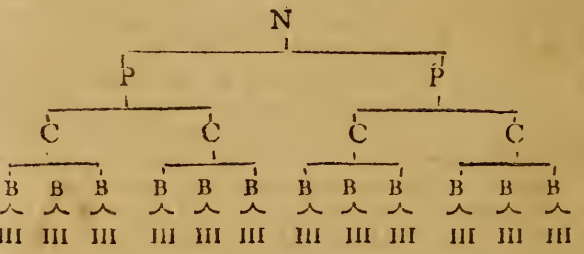
The whole body was to meet four times a year, and the (regulating) committee once a month. Theſe meetings were to be "*convivial*; *converſational*, not a debating ſociety; and *confidential*, the heart open and the door locked." Their *external buſineſs* to conſiſt, "1ſt, in "publications to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpoſe are to be "ſanctioned by the committee.—2dly, Communication "with the different towns to be aſſiduouſly kept up, and "every exertion uſed to accompliſh a National Convention.—3dly, Communication with *ſimilar ſocieties* abroad, as the JACOBIN CLUB at Paris, the *Revolution "Society* IN ENGLAND, *the Committee of Reform* IN "SCOTLAND."

Eulogies were to be pronounced (as in *the Minerval Schools*) "on ſuch men as ſhall have deſerved well of their "country *until death*, whoſe works ſhould live in a library to be formed by the ſociety and dedicated to liberty." The ariſtocracy (poor dupes) were to be made their "inſtruments."—(*Iriſh Report*, *Appendix*, *No. IV.*)—Such was the plan on which this aſſociation was to be formed, and it was recommended to the people of Belfaſt by a Mr. Tone. On the 9th of November, 1791, the day on which the aſſociation was inſtituted at Dublin, a ſimilar invitation was publiſhed by it, and was ſigned Napper Tandy. Thus do we find that Liberty, Equality, Secrecy, Union, and the Rights of Man, were the real objects of this aſſociation. It is true that Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were held out as their only objects; but it has ſince appeared upon oath, that theſe were only pretexts, and that "the people in Leinſter, "Munſter, and Connaught did not care the value of a pen, "or the drop of ink it contained, for *Parliamentary Re-* "*form*, or *Catholic Emancipation*."——(*Appendix*, *No. XXXI.*

Their Forms and Regulations were alſo Maſonic.—Members were honorary or ordinary, and admitted between two *ſponſors*, who vouched for the characters and principles of the candidates. The ſign and word were adopted. Funds were produced by admiſſion fees, loans, and voluntary contributions of the "*Ariſtocrats*." Taxes alſo of one penny per month were levied on the individuals of the aſſociation, and were generally tranſmitted through regular gradations to the High Superiors. Many

changes, however took place on this ſubject, and latterly three pence per month was levied. Theſe funds were not even entruſted to the Provincial Committees; but a member of the Executive attended to carry away the monies as ſoon as they were received. It is true, indeed, that the Executive acounted to the Provincial Committee once every three months.

A Chairman, or Maſter, preſided over the Lodges, whoſe duty it was to preſerve order and direct debates; he had the power of fining refractory members to the amount of five ſhillings, and even of expelling the member if he continues to be contumacious; as alſo to eraſe ſuch members as did not attend their duty after they had been ſerved with a regular notice. Officers were appointed, and the ſecretaries always belonged to a higher degree.—The concatenation of the degrees perfectly coincides with Weithaupt's plan, as the following ſcale of correſpondence (of National, Provincial, County, and Baronial Committees, emanating from the Individual Societies) will demonſtrate.



When an Individual Society amounted to thirty-ſix members, it was equally divided by lot. The firſt eighteen drawn by the ſecretary were conſidered as the ſenior ſociety, the remaining eighteen formed the junior ſplit, and received its number from the Baronial Committee through the medium of the ſenior ſplit.

The Baronial Committee was compoſed of the ſecretaries, treaſurers, and a delegate from each individual ſociety under their direction. The County and Provincial Committees were to be compoſed of the ſecretaries, treaſurers, and a delegate from the Committees immediately under them.—*(Ibid. No. II.)* Ireland was ſubdivided into its four Provinces, and its thirty-two Counties; but

as ſoon as two County Committees were formed, the Provincial Committee of that province was to be choſen.—When two Provincial Committees had been elected, the National was formed of five members from each Provincial Committee.

No perſon whatever could mention the names of committee-men; they were not even known to thoſe who had elected them in the caſe of the National or Executive Committee, the ſecretaries of the Provincial that examined the ballot only informing the perſons who had the majority of votes, without reporting to the Electors. Thus was the ſociety entirely governed by *unknown* Superiors.

When any queſtions were propoſed in an inferior ſociety, and this ſociety wiſhed to tranſmit them to other ſocieties (either to get information on the ſubject, or for any other reaſon) it was to ſend them to the committee under whoſe immediate direction it might be.

Strange members were admitted to the meetings, (or, as they termed it, "*to the honors of the ſitting*,") on producing their credentials; but the ſecretaries made no returns in their preſence.

A teſt was taken by every candidate previous to his admiſſion, in a ſeparate room, in preſence of his two ſponſors, and of a member delegated by the Maſter for that purpoſe. The teſt was declared to be "*a ſocial and ſacred compact*," and was in the words following: "I *A. B.* "do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavor-"ing to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen "of *every* religious perſuaſion, and that I will alſo perſe-"vere in my endeavors to obtain an equal, full, and ade-"quate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland. I do "farther declare, that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor "puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirect-"ly to inform or give evidence againſt any member or "members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or ex-"preſſion of theirs done or made collectively or individ-"ually, in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit "of this obligation."—*(Ibid. No. II.)*

Dublin, Belfaſt, and Newry, were now become the head-quarters of the new conſpiracy. The latter town even enjoyed the excluſive privilege of printing the conſtitutions of the aſſociation, till by a decree of the 7th December 1796, it was reſolved, that they ſhould be printed in three different parts of the Kingdom for *conveniency's*

ſake. A delegate was alſo deputed from thence into the county of Cavan and the province of Leinſter, where he founded a number of ſocieties. The whole county of Antrim was ſoon in a ferment; its inhabitants were diſſenters, whoſe religious tenets bordered on democracy.—The new-fangled Rights of Man began to be the favorite theme of all the diſcontented in Europe; Paine's Works were profuſely diſtributed among the Iriſh; publications of all ſorts and ſizes were circulated, holding out "*Igno-*" *rance* as the demon of diſcord—*Union*, as power, wiſ-" dom, and the road to liberty," and teaching the riſing brotherhood "that a more unjuſt conſtitution could not "be deviſed, than that which condemned the natives of a "country to perpetual ſervitude under the arbitrary do-"minion of ſlaves and ſtrangers;—that the firſt and in-"diſpenſable condition of the laws in a free ſtate is, the "aſſent of thoſe whoſe obedience they require—that the "will of the nation muſt be declared.—Away from us "(cries the Hierophant) and from our children thoſe pu-"erile antipathies ſo unworthy the *manhood* of nations, "which inſulate man as well as countries, and drive the "citizen back to the ſavage." No longer ſhall man confine his attention to ſome few fragments of the temple of Liberty. In future, "the ample earth is to be its area, "and the arch of heaven its dome."—*(Ibid No. V.)*—The means of accompliſhing theſe great things were the union of the whole people; and England, Scotland, and Ireland, were ſimultaneouſly to raiſe their voice. In ſhort, the clergy, gentry, and government, were held out as the real oppreſſors of the people; and thus were all the principles of anarchy and deſtruction of property to be infuſed into that ſame people. Clubs and meetings were held under various denominations; the Defenders were invited to unite and make a common cauſe; and the County Committees were particularly entruſted with the care of making an union between the Orange Men and the Catholics, though great precaution was to be obſerved in ſpeaking of the latter, leſt the Proteſtants ſhould take alarm. Union among themſelves and diſaffection to government was to conſtitute their whole ſtrength. It was feared that the Catholic Clergy would impede their ſiniſter deſigns; reports were ſpread, "that the titular Biſhops had been "ſummoned before the Privy Council, and that they had "received a bribe of five hundred guineas; that they

" were to ſummon all their Prieſts, and command them " to do all in their power to diſcover ſuch of their flock " as were United Iriſhmen, or had any connection with " ſuch."—*(Ibid No. II).*—In thoſe parts where the whole population was Catholic, hand-bills were diſtributed, purporting to be the Conſtitution of the Orange Men, which was death and deſtruction to every Catholic; for, if the common people could be once ſtirred up to rebellion, it was eaſy to turn their minds againſt government as the centre of the Orange union (and what great weight muſt this aſſertion have lately acquired, when that badge was worn by perſons whoſe duty it is to be ever above party prejudice!) while, as in the county of Armagh, which had been the ſcene of much ſtrife between the contending parties, the Sect ſucceeded in uniting and leaguing them in one common cauſe againſt thoſe who were held out as the oppreſſors of the ſtate.

The chain of correſpondence once perfectly eſtabliſhed, communications were opened with England and Scotland, and negociations carried on with the French during the laſt ſix months of 1795; and in April 1796 the outlines of a Treaty with France was drawn up by the National Committee, and tranſmitted to the French Directory.—In the mean time the Sect continued to propagate its principles and enroll recruits, and on the 8th of November all the aſſociations received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs to riſe, and to procure arms and ammunition, as the French were *immediately expected.*

On the 24th of December the French really did make their appearance at Bantry; and, ſtrange to ſay, they were not ſeconded in their attempts by the people, who univerſally roſe in the South to oppoſe their invaders; but this is accounted for in a ſtill more extraordinary manner. The Executive had received news, that the French had deferred their expedition till ſpring; this circumſtance threw them " off their guard, and in conſequence of it " no meaſures were taken to prepare the people for the " reception of the French army. *The people were left to* " *themſelves.*" I hope in God that this avowal, made by one of their intended Governors, may prove a wholeſome leſſon to that ſame people, and encourage them to follow the loyal and genuine dictates of their hearts.—*(Ibidem, No. XXXI).*

In future, the buſineſs that will chiefly occupy the

Committees will be reports on men, arms, and money, which latter article appears to have been a ſubject of great contention. Each degree thought itſelf intitled to diſpoſe of at leaſt a part of their funds; and ſuch had been the law originally; but the High Superiors found it neceſſary to declare, that no Committee below the County ſhould be empowered to diſpoſe of the funds. Soon after this power was confined to the Provincial, and ultimately one of the Executive Directors always attended at the Provincial Committee to carry away with him to the National Committee whatever contributions had been levied on the brotherhood. The jealouſy of the brotherhood obliged the National Committee at one time to iſſue a proclamation, declaring that not "*one penny of their money had been expended any other way than that it was intended for.*" The vigilance of Government greatly contributed to augment the expenſes of the Sect, as many of the members were taken up and brought to trial. Theſe were defended at the expenſe of the brotherhood. A regular Committee for the defence of priſoners travelled the circuits; and the eminent talents of Mr. Curran (employed at a great expenſe) will ever ſtand a voucher that juſtice was done the priſoners wherever he was preſent. Large ſums were ſubſcribed by all claſſes, and the duped ariſtocrats (or, as one of the ſecretaries ſtyles them, the *Araſtorricks*) contributed at one ſingle ſubſcription, in the county of Antrim, 374l. At the ſpring aſſizes of 1797, held in the county of Down, 750l. were expended, and a ſafe conveyance had been procured to the priſoners that were confined in the jail of that county.—This, however, was not the only means of defence deviſed; for it was given as the opinion of a County Committee, "that if there is any United Iriſhmen on the ju-" ry that will commit any of the priſoners that is confi-" ned for being United Iriſhmen, *ought to loſe their ex-" iſtence.*" The expenſes became ſo heavy at length, from buying arms and ſupporting and defending priſoners, that a lottery was ſet on foot; but what reader would ſuſpect (as was really the fact) that this meaſure was objected to, on the plea that it *encouraged the immorality of the people?*

To return to the new military organization of the Sect. It was ordered, that every Baronial Committee ſhould form its three individual ſocieties into a company of one

hundred men, chooſing one captain, two lieutenants, and five ſergeants; total 108. The reader has already ſeen how exactly the correſponding ſcale coincided with Weiſhaupt's Illuminiſm; but when the military formation began to take effect, and the numbers increaſed beyond all expectation, it was deemed neceſſary to extend and change certain parts of this ſcale. Greater danger attending the taking of arms, the individual ſocieties began to ſplit as ſoon as their numbers amounted to twelve. Theſe were to be near neighbors, the better to watch over each other's actions and to enſure ſecrecy. The ſecretaries alone were to form the higher committees. They were the bearers of all orders from the higher to the lower degrees; they reported the progreſs made by, and the views of, the Sect, in as much as it was thought neceſſary to let them into the ſecret; for we find that even the County Committees were not in the ſecret as to the nature of the engagements entered into with the French. What unhappy deluded people then were the lower aſſociators, who were informed of nothing, but were to be the mere agents of rebellion and murder, and were hurried on into this abyſs of horrors by a few political libertines who graſped at dominion, and wiſhed to wade to the helm of the ſtate through the blood of their countrymen! Nevertheleſs every petty piece of information that was tranſmitted to the lower degrees was ſtyled *a Report to their Conſtituents.*

According to the new ſcale it was ordained, that TEN *Individual Societies* ſhould be under the direction of one *Baronial Committee*; TEN *Baronials* to one *upper Baronial*; and in large towns TEN *upper Baronials* to one *Diſtrict*. But as ſoon as a County contained four or more Diſtrict Committees, the County Committee was created. When committees had been appointed in two counties, the Provincial Committee was formed of two delegates from each, and the National Committee (or the Executive) of five delegates from each of the four Provincial Committees, though the National Committee was formed as ſoon as two Provincial Committees had been elected. A part of this Executive was ſtationary in each province; and it appears that Dublin, Cork, and Galway, were their reſidence in three provinces; but with reſpect to Ulſter, it does not appear whether Belfaſt, Armagh, or Newry, could claim the honor. From this new

formation, each upper Baronial will be found to contain a regiment.—*(Ibid. XXIV.)*

One Individual Society		12 Men.
One Baronial	10	120
One upper Baronial	10	100	1200

The captains elected the colonels, and the latter propoſed three perſons, one of whom was created adjutant-general by the national committee. It may not be improper here to remark the care with which theſe higher conſpirators ſought to preſerve their authority in their own hands, even in caſe of a revolution; for when there was a queſtion afterward of forming a *National Aſſembly*, it was reſolved that each of the thirty-two counties ſhould depute one perſon to be added to the Executive, all lower ſocieties being caſt out of the balance, and only to be conſidered as agents, who, after having been robbed of every moral and civil virtue, were to raiſe on high their ſanguinary chiefs and ſeducers, glutted with the blood of their lawful governors.

Here we ſee the amazing progreſs made, and the great power acquired ſince the 9th of November, 1791. Every thing now took a ſerious and military turn. The new-elected officers *were inſtructed to ſtudy tactics* and acquire every ſpecies of military information with reſpect to roads, magazines, mills, &c. Plans were deviſed for the ſupport of the wives and children "*during the exertions of the Bro-*" *therhood in the field.*" Every thing that could thwart government was diſcuſſed and reſolved. The conſumption of ſpirits was prohibited, in order to hurt the exciſe; bank-notes were cried down; and even the buying of quit-rents was expreſsly forbidden. In the mean time the High Superiors ſaw that this armed mob could not be competent of themſelves to cope with the king's troops; a means of debauching the latter from their allegiance was therefore contrived. Hand-bills were privily circulated, holding out their officers "as tyrants that had re-" belled againſt *the rights of man*, and whoſe orders were "damnable;" bills, in ſhort of the moſt inflammatory nature were diſperſed among the military by the townſpeople, who were charged with the ſeduction of the troops of their garriſon. They ſwore in ſome few of the ſoldiers; theſe ſwore others; and when their number was ſufficient, ſocieties was formed in the regiments. Here again

we find the *ſign and word*, which were changed every month; the catechiſm for recognizing a true brother; and the oath, which was, "to be true to the French Repub-"lic, and to take the life of any man who would attempt "to diſcover." . . .—The rule for reckoning on friends among the military was, "that in caſe the perſon ſworn "is an United Iriſhman, and has not taken any active ſteps "againſt the body or any of its members, *out of the line* "*of his profeſſion*, he was to be deemed ſtill the Friend of "the United Iriſhmen."—*(Ibid. No. XIV.)*—The better to propagate the ſyſtem, it was held out to the military, "that when the French ſhould come, the ſoldiers "were to be ſuch as them; that *there were to be no* "*rich, but* ALL EQUALITY; and that there was no uſe "in their going againſt the French, becauſe when all the "Powers were againſt them, they could make no hand "of them."—They were alſo tampered with reſpecting their pay. When all this had ſufficiently ſucceeded, "a "ſoldier in each company was appointed to make a re-"turn of united men in his reſpective company, while "two of the ſteadieſt men," from each regiment, "were "employed to carry theſe returns" to the towns-people. Theſe, in return, informed them of the progreſs made by the Sect in Ireland, and of its numbers on board the *Engliſh* and *French* fleet; as alſo of all kinds of news from the latter. A plan was ſettled, "that upon a ſignal given, "(and this was ſetting fire to a houſe, or ſome ſuch to-"ken,) if it was by day-light, the men ſhould turn out "of the ranks; and if it was by night, and it could be ſo "contrived, an United Iriſhman ſhould be ſentry at the "gate, who was to ſell the barracks; and ſuch United "Iriſhmen as were within the barracks were to exert "themſelves in ſeizing ſuch arms and ammunition within "as they could get.—If there were but thirty friends in "the barracks, by having them diſperſed up and down in "the rooms, when the attack was to be made, they could "give the arms to the towns-people."—If any part of the garriſon were not to be depended upon, the cannons ſeized were to be pointed on the barracks, or whole corps were to be cut off for refuſing to coaleſce with them.—Some of the brotherhood even went ſo far as to attempt to ſet fire to the ſtores; but the burning coals were luckily diſcovered by a dragoon. Such was the plan for garriſons and towns; the mode of proceeding in camp is ex-

emplified in that of Bandon: "On the 1st of July, 1797, "the country was to be set on fire on both ends, and in "the middle; and then, with what friends Mr. O'Brien, "near Bandon, could send them, and what friends they "had in camp, about Four Hundred, they intended first "taking the cannon, and then taking the bell-tents, with "the small arms, which they would give to the country "people sent by Mr. O'Brien, and then *go put General "Coote and as many officers as they could to death*, and "retreat to Bantry, take possession of the battery, and "keep it, if possible, till the French would land." It appeared that, at a future time, when a rising was also to have taken place, that the soldiers *were to put all their officers to death, and the yeomanry also if they opposed them.* In return for so signal a service, the town of Skibbereen was to be given up *to the soldiers for pillage during eight hours.—(Ibid. XXIX.)* Thus do we see the gradual progress of this horrid association toward its cruel and sanguinary object—THE GREAT END!!—The committees in future proceed with the greatest eagerness to prepare every thing that can involve their country in rebellion and bloodshed. After the example of the bloody Marat, and according to the true principles of the Sect, a paper, entitled, the UNION STAR, was published at Belfast, printed only on one side, so that it could be pasted on the walls of the streets.—Let this paper describe itself:—"As the Union "Star is an official paper (of the Brotherhood) the mana-"gers promise the public that no characters shall be ha-"zarded but such as are denounced by authority, as be-"ing the partners and creatures of Pitt and his sanguina-"ry journeyman Luttrell." (that is to say, Lord Car-"hampton, the commander in chief.) "The Star offers to "public justice the following detestable traitors, as spies "and perjured informers. Perhaps *some arm more lucky* "than the rest may reach their hearts, and free the world "from bondage." Then was given a list of proscriptions, exactly such as Marat gave when he styled himself the *political calculator*, because, when four men had been torn to pieces by the demoniacs of Paris, he stated, that subtracting 4 from 30,000 there still remained 29,996 aristocrats to fall beneath the national vengeance. Now this official writer, in his frantic rage, thus addresses his Sovereign: "Let the indignation of man be raised against the "impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of reign-

" ing by the grace of God, and impudently tells the world " he can do no wrong.—Oh, man! or rather leſs,—Oh " king! will the ſmothered groans of my countrymen, " who, in thy name, fill the innumerable dungeons you " have made, for *aſſerting the rights of man*, be conſid- " ered no wrongs?—Go, impious blaſphemer! and your " hypocritical ſocerers, *to the fate* PHILOSOPHY, Juſtice, " and LIBERTY conſigns thee. 'Tis inevitable, thy im- " poſitions are detected; thy kind have been brought to " juſtice. The firſt poſſeſſor of thy trade has recently bled " for the crimes of the craft.—We appeal to thy noble " and venerated name, O Brutus! who bravely aſſaſſin- " ated the tyrant of your country amidſt his cohorts, and " in the preſence of his penſioned ſenate."—*(XXVII.)*

——Theſe are literal extracts from this paper; and no *Knight Kadoſch* of Maſonry, nor *Man-king* of Illumin- iſm could hold more violent language.—Another paper, nearly as wild, called THE PRESS, was publiſhed by Mr. Arthur O'Conner, with a ſimilar view of inflaming the minds of the people. The violence of his own productions may be preſumed from the ſentence he paſſes on all the moſt violent papers of England in his letter to his Brother.— " We (Burdett and himſelf) ordered you the COURIER; " as to the morning papers they *are mere lumber* in your " office; ſo we did not ſend you more than the COURIER, " as in the buſineſs of the Preſs we found it uſeleſs to have " any other."—*(Trials at Maidſtone.)*

The Committees continued to receive daily reports of the motions and determinations of their allies, the French; of their friends in England and in Scotland; and of the immenſe progreſs that the Sect was making. November, 1796, they are informed, " that *four new* Societies are " organized *in Scotland*, and that the County of Kerry " Militia required one hundred conſtitutions for their own " uſe."—In April, 1797, " that their numbers are im- " menſe in Leinſter, though *unacquainted* with the ſyſ- " tem of organization. In Ulſter there were 116,844 men " organized."*

* The reſolutions entered into by the united ſocieties of Donaghadee and its vicinity (and ſeized on the 14th of April, 1797) are too explicit to be omitted here. They reſolved, that " all power is radically in the people;" that " at the preſent " criſis the *people being united* ſhould arm, chuſe their officers, " and take a firſt, ſecond, and third requiſition of ſuch as are

In May, a new ſcene opens itſelf, which unfortunately ſhews us, that the Iriſh Brotherhood were no ſtrangers to deliberate aſſaſſination.—Between the hours of eight and nine of a Sunday morning, the 7th of May, 1797, a man of the name of James Dunn (a ſmith and farrier, who had been in Lord Carhampton's ſervice for the ſpace of fifteen years, and lived in a houſe at his lordſhip's park-gate) preſented himſelf at a *Baronial Committee*, held in a public-houſe, Strand-ſtreet, Dublin. Maurice Dunn, the keeper of the houſe, was his ſponſor, and "would engage his life for him that he was *up* or *ſtraight*." Hereupon the ſigns of the Brotherhood were put to him; and having, by his anſwers, proved that he was a true and accepted Brother, the chairman took the chair. James Dunn then ſubmitted to the Society, "that he and a few more "friends were thinking of *doing out* (ſhooting) Carhampton, becauſe he was a great hindrance to matters getting forward." This news electrified the whole committee with joy.—One exclaimed, "It is *great* news."—"It is glorious news," cried another: "It is the beſt "news we have heard yet," ſaid a third: and a fourth declared, that "it would do more for the cauſe than had "ever been done before." Dunn then mentioned a narrow part of the road leading to Luttrelſtown, and a ſtone wall from whence he might have a *ſlap* at Lord Carhampton, who, he ſaid, was *damned wary*, and always carried piſtols with him; but one good blunderbuſs would do as much as ten piſtols. He then declared that four friends, John Broderick, Peter Reilly, Patrick Carty, and Ed. Martin, had engaged to join him; on which the Committee named ſeven of their members to deliberate on ſo important a buſineſs, and ordered them to meet at ſeven

"able to go forth to war in *defence of their rights* as men;" that "if any prove hoſtile to liberty, their eſtates or property "ſhall be confiſcated, and converted to the national fund."—All enemies to the cauſe were to be tried by a jury, "according "to the law *then exiſting*;" and a *Revolutionary Committee* was to be eſtabliſhed. It is true, that this patriotic zeal was condemned by the Provincial Committee as *premature*; but it is to be remembered, that the High Superiors of the Sect feared nothing but a premature inſurrection; "for (ſay they), by that "means Government would have it in their power to put us "down, never to riſe, at leaſt for a century; and likewiſe we "have paid a great deal of money to the people in gaol, and "it will take a large ſum of money to aſſiſt them all winter." —*(Appendix No. II)*.

o'clock the ſame evening, when Dunn and his companions were to attend. The cuſtomary oath of ſecrecy was taken by all preſent, to the number of 17; they then parted, after giving as the new word "A GOOD ACT."—At ſeven in the evening the delegated members met, one excepted. The oath of ſecrecy having been adminiſtered to the four friends, they were introduced. Thomas Byrne then ſaid, "I ſuppoſe thoſe are *friends* and *gentlemen*;—"I ſuppoſe we all underſtand what we are met about?"—"If they were not," anſwered Dunn, "I would not "bring them here."—"We know the buſineſs we are "met about (ſays Byrne); let us proceed." Various plans were then propoſed for *doing* his Lordſhip *out*.—Dunn repeated his; Byrne would have at leaſt a party of nine mounted; but John Ferral, with ſanguinary zeal, inſiſted that every perſon preſent ſhould partake of the foul deed; and his opinion was adopted. Another reſolution propoſed by Byrne then paſſed: "That three at leaſt ſhould go "out diſguiſed with looſe coats and blunderbuſſes; and "the reſt, as yeoman cavalry, to be armed with piſtols."——The plan of execution was, that "thoſe with blun-"derbuſſes were to come at the back of the carriage and "to fire in; thoſe with the piſtols were then to ride on, "and fire in at the windows, leſt the fire from behind "ſhould not have taken effect; and as they paſſed the "*footman* and *poſtillion* they were alſo to diſpatch them; "they were then to recharge their pieces, ride on in a "body towards Dublin, and keep together, ſo as to ſe-"cure their retreat." A new oath was then taken, "to "be ſtaunch and ſteady, and true to one another in the "buſineſs."—When the book came to John Ferral, he enthuſiaſtically exclaimed, "If this buſineſs miſſes, if pro-"viſion be made for my family, I will undertake to *do* "him in the ſtreets." Several meetings were afterwards held on the ſubject; for never was a murder more deliberately planned.—Money being neceſſary for procuring arms, the chairman of the committee applied to the Baronial Secretary, who referred him to the Treaſurer; and the Sunday after (May 14) James Dunn and Patrick Carty were arreſted in the Phœnix-Park. Carty had, together with his father (a Chelſea penſioner) been a conſtant laborer on Lord Carhampton's demeſne, and had a houſe rent-free. The day after the arreſt Lord Carhampton viſited Dunn in priſon, in the hope that he would diſcover

what had become of the three other aſſaſſins, but he received no ſatisfactory anſwer. On his Lordſhip expreſſing his ſurprize that the priſoner ſhould be capable of ſo atrocious a deed, the aſſaſſin anſwered, that "he thought "it was *a good act*; that he had no perſonal diſlike to his "Lordſhip, and would never execute *it alone*, but with "his party; that he had never ſuffered any injury from "him; but that he was ſworn to execute it, and if he were "out of that (the priſon) he would execute it if he could." As to the murdering the poor innocent poſtillion, "it "was to do the thing completely."—After this are we to be ſurprized at the horrid murders that have taken place. Lord Carhampton, ſome time after the arreſt of the ſon, had an interview with Carty, the father, and told him, "that if his ſon would give examinations, he was inclined "to let him do ſo; and in that caſe he thought his life "might be ſaved; and he deſired the father would tell the "ſon ſo."—The father ſaid, "he was apprehenſive, that "if his ſon gave examinations, *he would be murdered.*" I have dwelt on this example, as it was the ſubject of a trial, in which the Attorney-General proſecuted for the crown, and four counſel attended on the part of the priſoner, Mr. Curran, Mr. M'Nally, Mr. Greene, and Mr. Emmett, who had himſelf been a member of the Executive Directory from January to the beginning of May.—Such able counſel, and ſo public a trial, will ever ſtamp this as an authentic document.—*(See Report of the Trials of Carty and Dunn, publiſhed by Ridgeway.)*

In June, the captains were informed, that the national committee had been ſitting fifteen days; but as only ten thouſand men of the County of Antrim would riſe, the buſineſs was retarded. The colonels of the County of Down were unanimous for the riſing. In July their hopes were buoyed up by an intimation that 75,000 men were embarked at the Texel for Ireland; but theſe were irreparably broken by the immortal Duncan on the 11th of October.

In Auguſt they received news, that a number of ſocieties had been *formed in North America*, and that theſe had tranſmitted 211 dollars to their Brethren in Ireland.—In October a perſon, juſt arrived from Scotland, attended at the county meeting, held at Down Patrick, and "*ſhewed* "*a Scotch conſtitution, which was*, WORD FOR WORD, "*the ſame as the Iriſh; only that the words* NORTH

" BRITONS *were put in the place of* IRISHMEN." November 14th, inquiries were made of the delegates of the Province of Ulſter, " whether they thought that they " could diſarm the military within themſelves; and they " all ſaid that they could, except Armagh."—(*Appendix, No. XIV.*)—On the 28th of December, " One conſti- " tution was voted to a member, to be given to part of " *a ſhip's company* lying in Belfaſt Lough, for the propa- " gation of the general principle."——At the Provincial Meeting for Ulſter, held the 1ſt of February, 1798, it was reported, that " three delegates (of whom the unfor- " tunate Quigley, ſince executed at Maidſtone, was one) " had juſt arrived from France; that the French were go- " ing on with the expedition; and that it was in a great- " er ſtate of forwardneſs than was expected; but what " was moſt flattering, was, that *three delegates had been* " *ſent from the* UNITED BRITONS *to the Iriſh National* " *Committee; and that from that very moment they were* " *to conſider* ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* IRELAND, as " one people acting for one common cauſe: There were " Legiſlators now choſen from the three kingdoms to act " as an executive for the whole."—They were alſo informed, that Quigley and one Arthur Mac Mahon, of Hollywood, had been the two principal perſons who *during the preceding ſummer, had opened the communication with the United Britons—(Ibid.)* The delegates from England brought an addreſs from the United Britons to the United Iriſh. In high flown and patriotic language, the *United Britons* informed their FELLOW MEN, that " various political ſocieties had been inſtituted for the pur- " poſe of REFORM.—But they had vaniſhed, or diſcon- " tinued their exertions. The LONDON CORRESPOND- " ING *Society*, and other ſocieties in union with it, had " riſen upon their ruins." That England was never without friends to ſubſtantial Liberty; but that the flame of Liberty had been for a long time ſmothered, " till the " French revolution again fanned its dying embers into a " glow, which, they hoped and truſted, would never be " extinguiſhed.—Our numbers (ſay they) are immenſe, " our influence ſtill more conſiderable, and *our ſentiments* " *accord with yours.* We are unthinned by the tyranny " of the law or of the ſword.—Our delegate is entruſted " to lay before you our proceedings." And they conclude, " With beſt wiſhes for the amelioration of the condition

" of man, and hopes that your exertions and virtues, aid-
" ed by an united people, will ſpeedily emancipate your
" country:—We remain, in bonds of Brotherhood and
" Union,

" Yours fraternally."

Friday, Jan. 5, 1798.

(Seal.)

It appears on the evidence of John Hughes, *(Lords, No. I.)* a printer of Belfaſt, that the delegate was a Mr. *Bonham*, who was accompanied by Citizen *Baily* and the *younger Binns*. The latter, who was introduced to Hughes by Quigley, ſaid that he had diſtributed moſt of the printed addreſſes, and deſired to have an edition of them printed. Accordingly a thouſand were printed, and three guineas paid for them by a perſon of Belfaſt.

During this month a regular military committee was appointed by the Executive, " to conſider and digeſt ſuch " plans, and direct the military force in ſuch manner, as " might be neceſſary in caſe of inſurrection; and in caſe " of invaſion to co-operate with the French."

On the 27th of February it was reported, that the Aſſociation had at that time fourteen delegates in France, and that there had *been held in London a meeting of all the delegates of England and Scotland.* In March, the brotherhood of the Province of Leinſter ſuſtained a conſiderable ſhock, by the arreſt of ſome of its leading members; but on the 25th of the ſame month it appears, that " the Provincial Committee of Leinſter had perfectly re-
" covered from the ſhock; they (the delegates of Leins-
" ter) were only four days from the time they were tak-
" en before they had the whole province in a complete
" ſtate of organization; the Government had alſo taken
" three of the Executive, but there were three appointed
" in their place the very evening after they were taken." How truly does this demonſtrate Weiſhaupt's aſſertion, that when he once has properly organized his bands, he will bid defiance to all his opponents.

Another principle of that prototype of rebellion had, unfortunately, been too well underſtood by the founders of the Iriſh brotherhood, and that was to make themſelves maſters of the education of youth. Many ſchoolmaſters (as I have been credibly informed) have ſhown themſelves extremely active in the whole courſe of this unfor-

tunate affair. The very firſt man who was tried and executed in Ireland, for ſwearing in the deluded Iriſh *to be true to the French*, was a ſchoolmaſter called Laurence O'Connor.—The following are extracts from his papers, and proved on his trial: " I, *A. B.* do ſwear in the pre- " ſence of Almighty God, that *I will be true to the pre-* " *ſent United States of France and Ireland, and every* " *other Kingdom in Chriſtianity*, without its being hurt- " ful to ſoul or body, as long as they prove ſo to me.— " And that *I will not come as evidence* againſt any of my " brethren or committees, in any court or place whatſo- " ever, excepting in court-martial, under penalty of be- " ing excluded, *or death without mercy*.—All brothers to " live lovingly and harmonioufly, and quarrellous to be " excluded, as the Committee thinks proper."

" Theſe articles are according to the Foreign United " States of France and Ireland, by order of our commit- " tee of L. G. No. 16."

A ſecond paper was in theſe words: " *The bearer*, *A.* " *B.* was initiated into our ſublime degree of L. L. L. by " me C. D."

There was alſo found on the priſoner three regular certificates, one of *Free Maſons*, a ſecond of *Royal Arch*, and a third of *Knights Templars*, ſhowing that O'Connor was of theſe Orders. One of the Counſel attempted to explain away the oath, repreſenting it as " the mere rhapſody of a warm imagination, uſed to exerciſe itſelf on Maſonic myſteries;" he repreſented to the jury, that " it would be a cruel verdict indeed that would convict a man of high treaſon, *merely for uſing a few cabaliſtical words and ſymbols*."—I will venture to affirm, that ſhould the learned counſel ever chance to peruſe the *Memoirs of Jacobiniſm*, he will have a clearer inſight into the Cauſe he had to defend, than when at Naas at the adjournment of the ſummer aſſizes in 1795.—*(See his Trial.)*

What a melancholy ſcene did the ſeat of ſcience (I mean the Univerſity of Dublin) preſent, when on the 19th, 20th, and 21ſt of April, 1798, it appeared on the cleareſt evidence that a body of United Iriſhmen had organized themſelves within the walls of the College! had conſulted about providing themſelves with arms, and had elected officers!—Nineteen ſtudents were expelled, and ſome other perſons cenſured.—*(Viſitation held by Lord Clare.)*

In the mean time open rebellion continued its progreſs;

and on the 1ſt of April it is reported to a committee, that a letter had been received "from Bartholemew Teeling "(executed in September 1798, being taking in arms with "the French in their invaſion at Killala) who was one "of the delegates in France, ſtating, that the French "troops would moſt certainly be on board by the middle "of this month. The troops from Breſt and that neigh-"borhood were determined to try to evade the Britiſh "fleet, and to land in Ireland; of courſe the Britiſh fleet "would follow them; and while thus drawn off, all the "other troops embarked at other ports would make a "deſcent on England. Whatever might reſult from this "attempt, it was the fixed determination of the National "Committee, in caſe the French ſhould be fruſtrated, "*that the brotherhood ſhould of themſelves make a riſing.*" "The citizens of Dublin, it was ſuppoſed, with the aſ-"ſiſtance of the army, could ſeize the capital at any mo-"ment." Unfortunately, the principles of the Sect had made ſuch a progreſs, that as early as February the returns declared the number of the brotherhood to amount in Ulſter to 110,990, in Munſter to 100,634, and in Leinſter to 08,272; and out of 8,000 military in Dublin alone, it was ſtated that 3,800 would act againſt Government. The Executive proceeded to carry their determination into execution. Dublin, Chapel-izod, the camp and the government, were to be ſeized on at one and the ſame time; and the ſignal was to be given to the whole country, by the burning of the mail coaches. But, in order to get poſſeſſion of the camp at Lehaunſtown, the Meſſrs. Sheares applied to Captain Armſtrong, who, true to his duty (and happily for his country), laid open the whole of the plan to his commanding officer at whoſe expreſs deſire he continued to commune with the conſpirators. He was queſtioned by them as to the ſtrong and weak ſides of the camp; and a Mr. Lawleſs (a ſurgeon), with the natural humanity of his Sect, obſerved, that "the trees on the right of the camp would be very convenient for hanging people." At length it was agreed, between the Meſſrs. Sheares (John was a member of the Executive) and Captain Armſtrong, that the latter ſhould "erect a ſtandard upon the night to be fixed upon for "the attack upon the camp, which was to be joined by "all whom he had previouſly known to be United Iriſh-"men; *that no perſon was to be ſpared*; and they were

"not to be given the option of joining at the time of the "attack."

The camp once carried, and Dublin fallen into the hands of the conſpirators, we may judge of the uſe they meant to make of their victory, by the following paſſages of a proclamation found in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Henry Sheares, and in the hand-writing of John Sheares, the member of the Executive:

"Iriſhmen! your country is free, and you are about "to be avenged. That vile government, which has ſo "long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed you, is no more. Some "of *its moſt atrocious monſters have already paid the* "*forfeit of their lives, and the reſt are in our hands.*— "Ariſe then, *United* Sons of Ireland! Riſe like a great "and powerful people, determined to live free or die!— "Arm yourſelves *by every means* in your power, and "*ruſh like lions on your foes*—In the cauſe of Liberty, "inaction is cowardice, and the coward *ſhall forfeit the* "*property* he has not the courage to protect: let his arms "be ſeized, and transferred to thoſe gallant ſpirits who "want and will uſe them. Yes, Iriſhmen, we ſwear by "*that eternal juſtice*, in whoſe cauſe you fight, that the "brave patriot who ſurvives the preſent glorious ſtruggle, "and the family of him who has fallen or ſhall fall here- "after in it, ſhall receive from the hands of a grateful na- "tion an ample recompenſe out of that property which "the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands. "*But we likewiſe ſwear, to puniſh robbery with death* "*and infamy!!!*

"As for thoſe degenerate wretches who turn their "ſwords againſt their native country, *the national ven-* "*geance awaits them:* let them find *no quarter*, unleſs "they ſhall prove their repentance by *ſpeedily deſert-* "*ing.*—&c. &c.

"Many military feel the love of liberty glow within "their breaſts, and have joined the national ſtandard. "Receive with open arms ſuch as ſhall follow ſo glori- "ous an example. But for the wretch who turns his ſword "againſt his native country, *let the national vengeance* "*be viſited on him; let him find no quarter.*"—(*Trial of Meſſrs. Sheares.*

The foregoing is more than ſufficient to ſhow the nature of this aſſociation. My object has not been to write the hiſtory of the late rebellion, but merely to ſhow that

its *object*, *end*, and *means*, were entirely similar to that of the infernal Sect described in the Memoirs that have just been laid before the English reader. May my countrymen profit of this awful example in Ireland, and guard against the insidious progress of that Sect in Great Britain!

GREAT BRITAIN.

When we turn our eyes toward Great Britain, associations of a similar tendency appear; under a great diversity of names indeed, but all actuated by a similar spirit. Their first object was, to captivate the minds of the people by means of "lectures delivered on political subjects, calculated by their very extravagance to catch "the attention of the audience; and in the course of them "every topic was employed that could inflame their "minds, alienate them from the laws and constitution of "their country, and habituate them to principles of sedition and rebellion. The most violent publications "to the same effect were secretly but generally circulated "in hand-bills, both in the metropolis and in the remote "parts of the country. Every point that could excite "discontent, according to the pursuits, interests, or prejudices, of different classes, has been successively dwelt "on, and always in such a manner as to connect it with "the leading design. The attempt to accomplish this "End has appeared in the shape even of play-bills and "songs; seditious toasts, and a studied selection of the "tunes which have been most in use in France since the "Revolution, have been applied to the same purpose, of "endeavoring to render deliberate incitements to every "species of treason familiar to the minds of the people." (*Eng.* 2d *Report*, p. 20.)—"*In the same manner* (say "the conspirators) *that a farmer may be roused by the "mention of tythes, the shoe-makers may by the excessive "dearness of leather, the inn-keeper by the numerous and "unnecessary standing army, and* ALL *by a temperate "and dispassionate relation of the immense number of sine-"cure places and useless offices*, in which the corrupt and "prostitute favorites, agents, &c. of the Rich and Great "riot in the spoils and plunder wrested from the husband-"man, mechanic, &c.—(*Ap.* C. p. 28.)

The association that took the lead was, THE SOCIETY

FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, which on the 23d of March, 1791, voted thanks to Thomas Paine for his work on the Rights of Man.—*(Ibid* 21.*)* Other societies, such as those of Sheffield, Manchester, &c. passed similar votes for his having demonstrated *the rights of man* in a manner *so clear and convincing*. In May, 1792, this society resolved, that a communication should be opened with the *Jacobin Club of Paris*; and an address to that club was transmitted, signed by the chairman. An address was also voted to the National Convention on the 9th of November, 1792, in consequence of the attack of the 10th of August on the French Monarch, styling the Convention "*servants of the sovereign people, and bene-* « *factors of mankind. The benefits* (they say) *will in part* « *be ours*, but the glory will be all your own; and it is the « reward of your perseverance; it is the prize of virtue." —*(Ibid* 24.*)*

Another association, calling itself THE LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY, was instituted in January, 1792. It immediately formed a close connection with the Society for Constitutional Information; on the 12th October, 1792, it framed an address to the French Convention; the deputies who presented it, "after pointing out their « wishes to effect in this country a revolution similar to « that made in France, consider the example of France as « having made *revolutions* easy; adding, that it would not « be extraordinary, if in a short space of time the French « should send addresses of congratulation to a *National* « *Convention of England*; and the president in his answer « says, *the moment*, without doubt, approaches when the « French will bring congratulations to the *National Con-* « *vention of Great Britain.*"—*(Ibid.* 25.*)* The fraternal embrace and the honors of the sitting were the natural recompense of such patriotic declamation. The sanguinary Barrere, St. André, and the insolent Roland were declared honorary members, and the speeches of the two former on the trial of Louis XVI. were entered on the books of the society.

Various societies were now formed in different parts of England, all corresponding with those in London, as their centre. Reform in parliament, universal suffrage, and annual elections, were the objects held out to the over-credulous. Soon we find the *London Society for* CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION and the *London* COR-

RESPONDING SOCIETY in close connection with, and actually directing, similar societies at HERTFORD; at CAMBRIDGE; in NORFOLK, at *Norwich*; at LIECESTER; in WARWICKSHIRE, at *Coventry* and *Birmingham*; at NOTTINGHAM; in DERBYSHIRE, at *Derby* and *Belper*; in CHESHIRE, at *Stockport*; in LANCASHIRE, at *Liverpool* and *Manchester*; in YORKSHIRE, in the West-Riding, at *Sheffield*, *Leeds*, *Bradford*, *Halifax*, *Huddersfield*, and *Wakefield*; in NORTHUMBERLAND, at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, &c. Associations were also formed at BRISTOL. With respect to SCOTLAND, *Edinburgh* appears to have been the central point for that country corresponding with London. In the interior of Scotland, and under its direction, we find many towns, such as *Leith*, *Dundee*, *Perth*, *Stirling*, *Kilsyth*, *Kyrkintulloch*, *Glasgow* (which also corresponded with London) *Paisley*, *Strathaven*, *Dalkeith*, &c. The same rules of proceeding, and for subdividing the societies, are to be traced again. But nothing can better illustrate the nature of these associations than that of Sheffield.

This association they tell us (Appendix D.) themselves, "originated in an assembly of *five or six mechanics*, who "by their meeting at some one of their houses, *and conversing about the enormous high price of provisions*; the "gross abuses this nation labors under from the unbounded authority of the *Monopolisers* of all ranks, *from the* "KING *to the* PEASANT; the waste and lavish of the public property by placemen, pensioners, luxury, and debauchery, sources of the grievous burthens under which "the nation groans; together with the mock representation of the people;—these being the subjects of their "conversation, *they concluded*, that nothing but DARKNESS and IGNORANCE *in the people* could suffer the "rights of every freeman *to be* THUS *violated*." They then invited their neighbors to deliberate on this patriotic discovery; they re-printed an edition of 1600 copies of *Paine's Rights of Man*, and sold it at six-pence to enlighten their fellow-countrymen. They style themselves the Society for Constitutional Information, write up to London, on the 15th of January, 1792, to request the favor "of forming a connection with all the like societies in England, and especially with those or some of "them in London, the Thatched-house, the London-tavern, or others, and humbly solicit their advice and as-

" ſiſtance in the accompliſhing thereof, *in order to form* " *our reſolves ſimilar to theirs*; becauſe, as we are actu- " ated by the SAME *cauſe and principle*, and *all* our in- " tereſts being *one*, *our ſentiments ought and muſt be the* " *ſame*." In about four months after, they inform the London Society, that " not only their large and popu- " lous town, but *the whole neighborhood* for many *miles* " round about, have an attentive eye upon them; and that " moſt of the towns and villages were forming themſelves " into *ſimilar aſſociations, ſtrictly copying after us*." They alſo declare their object to be, " a RADICAL REFORM *of* " *the Country* as ſoon as *prudence* and *diſcretion* would " permit, and eſtabliſhed on that ſyſtem which is conſiſt- " ent with the *rights of man*." They requeſt that certain members of their aſſociation may be admitted to the London meeting, which now becomes the regulating committee, that " a more cloſe connection might be formed " and communication be maintained, " for the extenſion of " uſeful knowledge from *town to village*, and from village " to town, until the whole nation be ſufficiently *enlight-* " *ened* and *united in the ſame cauſe*, which cannot fail of " being the caſe wherever the moſt excellent works of " Thomas Paine find reception." Should any perſon wiſh to be convinced, that all theſe, as well as the Iriſh ſocieties, were formed on Weiſhaupt's correſponding ſcale, let him attend to the improvement which the Sheffield people were about to adopt at the end of the 4th month, and after this offspring of the diſcontented mechanics had correſponded with London: " It is certainly (they ſay) " the beſt way of managing large bodies, as in great and " populous towns; viz. dividing them into ſmall bodies " or meetings of ten perſons each, and thoſe ten to ap- " point a delegate. Ten of theſe delegates form another " meeting, and ſo on, delegating from one to another, till " at laſt they are reduced to a proper number for conſti- " tuting the *Committee* or GRAND COUNCIL." After this, it is really uſeleſs to trouble my reader with any thing more on the nature or principles of the ſocieties of Great Britain. We find ſubſcriptions carried on for the defence of the proſecution commenced againſt Thomas Paine. The Scotch Societies agree with thoſe of England to hold a Convention, which, tho' not general from England, met in October, 1793.—(Appendix F.)—A letter was there read from the four united ſocieties of Ire-

land. Citizens *Hamilton Rowan* and *Simon Butler* attended from Dublin, but *were not delegated*; however, the latter made a report to the convention on the ſtate of Ireland. *Margarot*, a London delegate, ſaid, "The ſo-"cieties in London are very numerous, though ſomewhat "fluctuating. In ſome parts of England whole towns "are reformers; Sheffield and its environs have 50,000. "In Norwich there are 30 ſocieties in one.—If we could "get a convention of England and Scotland called, we "might repreſent *ſix* or *ſeven hundred thouſand* males, "which is a majority of all the adults in the kingdom; "and miniſtry would not dare to refuſe us our rights." They had held *fourteen* ſittings, when the magiſtrates thought proper to put a ſtop to it and arreſt ſome of the members; others aped the conduct of the *tiers etat* at Verſailles, when ordered to diſperſe, and adjourned from place to place; happily, however, they did not ſucceed. All their forms, and even their modes of ſpeech, were ſervilely copied from the French. After the numerous adherents that they had ſeduced, it is natural to think that the teachers of the Sect thought it time *to bind the manſters* who dared oppoſe them; to effectuate this, pikes were forged in different parts of Great Britain. "A "plan (writes the ſecretary of the Sheffield ſociety, in "April, 1794) has been formed for carrying into effect "this neceſſary buſineſs (of arming). Pike-blades are "made with hoops for the ſhaft to fit the top ends; the "bottom end of the ſhafts ſhould be about an inch thick-"er, and fir is recommended for the ſhafts, ſelected by "perſons who are judges of wood. The blades and "hoops will be ſold at the rate of one ſhilling, properly "tempered and poliſhed. The money ſent with the or-"ders."—(2d *Report*, p. 2)—*The ſecretary of the Correſponding Society gave directions where the pikes might be procured* (page 5); thoſe who could procure muskets learned the uſe of them, exerciſing by candle-light, or under pretext of loyal aſſociations; that which aſſumed the name of Loyal Lambeth would admit none but thoſe who were members of the Correſponding Society, or who promiſed to become ſo; nor had this armed aſſociation been authoriſed by government. Meanwhile Scotland had made ſuch progreſs, that the brethren there not only began to arm with pikes, but alſo turned their mind towards acting! The plot was fortunately diſcovered. A ſheriff's

officer went to search the house of a *Mr. Watt*, for some goods which were supposed to have been secreted, as belonging to a bankrupt of the name of *Neilson*, and who has since commenced preacher in England. In this search he found some pikes; and in a second (made in the same week, on the 15th of May, 1794) many more were discovered in a closet. This gave rise to enquiries, and it was found that no less than 4000 pikes had been ordered for Perth, beside those wanted for Edinburgh. It was farther discovered, that this *Watt* was a member of the *Committee of Ways and Means* delegated from the remnants of the convention; that he had in this committee read a plan "For seizing on the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lords "of Session, and the Lord Provost. A fire was to be "lighted at the Excise, and when the soldiers were com-"ing down, the people were to fall on them and seize the "Banks." As soon as this had succeeded, a proclamation was to be issued, "Desiring all farmers not to remove "their grain under pain of death, and all gentlemen not "to go three miles from their houses." This *grand plan* was communicated to the Societies by means of travelling adepts, who had a certificate authorizing them to call at the Societies. It was not signed, but seals were attached to the commission. The plan executed, and the "*Aristocrats seized*," couriers were to be sent to the country with the news. In *Watt*'s house were also found the types of the hand-bill contained in Appendix A. No. 1. and dated Dundee, April 12, 1794, which was distributed among the Fencibles, to stir them up to revolt.—The manner of distributing them is worthy of remark, as being *common to England* as well as to Scotland. *Downie*, who was also a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and who was convicted with *Watt*, after giving some to a person who was to distribute them, "desired him to throw the parcel on the floor; and if "any body asked him where he got it, he might say he "found it." A short time after, these hand-bills found their way to the soldiers in garrison at Dalkeith.—(*See the Trials of Watt and Downie, in August and September*, 1794.)

On the 12th of April, 1797, England witnessed the awful sight of its fleet in open insurrection. Here, as on land, we find oaths of secrecy and of union, delegates, and accord of system pervading the whole mutiny. At Ports-

mouth it was happily quelled, in a great degree, by the 20th of April; ſome ſtraggling ſhips would indeed ſhow ſymptoms of revolt, from time to time, both there and at Plymouth: At length the great mutiny at the Nore broke out *on the 12th of May*, and was not ſuppreſſed till the month of June. Many of the mutineers were brought to trial; and Parker, their leader, was hanged on the 30th of June. No authentic document appeared on theſe trials, indeed, that could connect this mutiny with the ſecret ſocieties on land; but, if we look to dates, it will be evident, that the *Correſponding Society* did not view this inſurrection of the fleet with an indifferent eye. I here allude to the papers that appeared on the trial of a man of the name of *Fellowes*, who had been a journeyman carpenter before he took to the *patriotic line*; he was tried at Maidſtone on the 13th of March, 1798, (his trial having been deferred at his own requeſt) and ſentenced to two years impriſonment. The account of the tranſaction given by the priſoner, as appeared in evidence, is as follows: "That he lodged at a Mr. Wratten's houſe in Maidſtone; "that a parcel came there on the *18th of May*, 1797, (the "fleet in full mutiny) directed to Mr. Wratten, by a "Charing-Croſs coach.—The wife opened the parcel; "and, as Mr. Wratten was from home, he (Fellowes) "told the wife, that the papers it contained belonged to "one of the ſocieties; there was to be a meeting, he told "her, on that night at the *Roſe and Crown*; that he would "carry them there, and take the ſenſe of the meeting. He "accordingly did ſo; read one of them, and none of the "ſociety made any objection. *He then laid them on the "table*, and the members of the ſociety *helped themſelves "as they thought proper*," (or, perhaps, *found them*, as was the caſe with the hand-bills in Scotland.) Some of the bills were carried from this meeting to another diviſion of the ſociety, ſitting at the *Caſtle Inn*, under the pretence of knowing whether they were legal; but, whether legal or not, they were diſtributed before morning among the ſoldiers then at Maidſtone.—The paper began thus:— "To the Britiſh Army:—Comrades, are we not men? "—Is it not high time we ſhould prove we know our- "ſelves to be ſuch?—Are we any where reſpected as men "—and why are we not?—Have not wrong notions of "diſcipline led us to our preſent deſpiſed condition?—Is "there a man among us who does not wiſh to defend his

" country, and who would not willingly do it without be-
" ing ſubject to the inſolence and cruelty of effeminate
" puppies? *Were not* THE SAILORS (at that time in full
" inſurrection), *like us, mocked for want of thought*, tho'
" not ſo much deſpiſed for poverty as we are? *Have they*
" *not proved that they* CAN THINK *and* ACT *for them-*
" *ſelves*, and preſerve every uſeful point of diſcipline full
" as well, *or better than when under the tyranny of their*
" *officers?*" Then comes a heap of declamation againſt the officers, againſt Parliament, againſt barracks, (a terrible grievance, as it guards the ſoldiers from falling an eaſy prey to the diſcontented) and on the ſyſtem of cloathing; the Addreſs then proceeds:—" Theſe are a few of
" our grievances, and but a few; what ſhall we do?—
" The tyranny of what is falſely called diſcipline *prevents*
" *us from acting like other men.* We cannot even give in
" a petition for that which common honeſty would freely
" have given us long ago. We have *only two choices*, ei-
" ther to ſubmit to the preſent impoſitions, or *demand the*
" *treatment* proper for men. *The power is all our own.*
" The *regiments* which ſend you this are willing to do
" their part." (Can the Correſponding Society here denominate themſelves regiments, in conſequence of their pike-buſineſs?) " They can ſhow their countrymen *they*
" *can be ſoldiers without being ſlaves*, and will make their
" demands *as ſoon as they know you will* NOT DRAW THE
" TRIGGER AGAINST THEM.—Of this we will judge
" when we know you have diſtributed this bill, not only
" among your comrades, *but to every ſoldier whom you*
" *know* IN EVERY PART *of the country*—Be ſober—Be
" ready." The whole of this trial took place in preſence of ſeveral of the members of the Correſponding Society of Maidſtone; and after the ſentence of two years impriſonment was paſſed on Fellowes, and that he was taking from the bar, ſome of his friends conſoled him by ſaying, " Two years! that is a long while; but Buonaparte will
" be here before that." However this vapouring Cameleon is little to be dreaded by Britons.

Hand-bills of the ſame nature were diſperſed among the army in other parts, and particularly in London; but, like true ſoldiers, they only anſwered by offering rewards (collected from their pay) for the diſcovery of the miſcreants who had conceived ſo mean an opinion of them as to think they could be ſeduced from their duty. A par-

cel of hand-bills, in the very terms here mentioned, was thrown into the ſtables of the Second Regiment of Horſe Guards, between the hours of one and three in the morning, but was treated with the contempt it deſerved. The diſtribution of ſuch hand-bills, and the proof adduced at Maidſtone, will cauſe much leſs ſurprize, when it is known, that "the deſign of endeavoring to ſeduce the army from "their duty had been the frequent ſubject of converſation "among ſome members of the Correſponding Society; it "even appears, that a project was repeatedly agitated a-"mong them, of ſtriking a ſudden blow, and beginning "by ſecuring the Royal Family and the Members of both "Houſes of Parliament, with the hope (as it was expreſs-"ed) *that the army being without leaders, would no long-"er oppoſe their attempts.*—(2d *Report*, p. 17.)

The Iriſh ſyſtem was now fully adopted in Scotland; as on the 21ſt October, 1797, a perſon juſt arrived from Scotland brought a Scotch Conſtitution to a County Meeting at Down Patrick, "which was *word for word* the "ſame as that of the Iriſh, only the words *United* NORTH "BRITONS were ſubſtituted for *United* IRISHMEN."—*(Iriſh Appendix, No. XIV.)*—And on the 5th of January, 1798, *The United Britons* ſend the addreſs already mentioned in the account of Ireland, declaring that "The "*Society of the Friends of the People* and *that* for *Conſti-"tutional Information* had diſcontinued their exertions; "that the *London Correſponding Society*, and other ſocie-"ties *in union* with it, had ariſen upon their ruins."—*(Ibid.)*—The delegates who carried it informed the National Committee of Ireland, that "England, Scotland, "and Ireland, were in future to be conſidered as one people, acting for one common cauſe; that *legiſlators were "now choſen from the three kingdoms, to act as an Exe-"cutive for* THE WHOLE."—Whither does this information naturally lead us? Surely to that paper which gave riſe to the famous trial at Maidſtone of Quigley, Binns, O'Connor, &c.? It began thus: "*The Secret Committee "of England to the Executive Directory of France*—"Health and Fraternity—the 6th of Pluviôſe (or Janu-"ary 25th, exactly twenty days after the addreſs to Ire-"land.) CITIZEN DIRECTORS—we are called toge-"ther, on the wing of the moment, to communicate to "you our ſentiments; the citizen who now preſents them "to you, and who was the bearer of them before, having

" but a few hours to remain in town, expect not a labor-
" ed addreſs from us; but plainneſs is the great charac-
" teriſtic of republicans.

" Affairs are now drawing to *a great and awful criſis*;
" tyranny, ſhaken to its baſis, ſeems about to be buried
" in its own ruins. *With the tyranny of England* that of
" all Europe muſt fall. Haſte then, Great Nation, *pour*
" *forth thy gigantic force! Let the baſe deſpot* feel thine
" avenging ſtroke, and let one oppreſſed nation carol forth
" the praiſes of France at the altar of liberty.

" We ſaw with rapture *your proclamations*; they met
" our warmeſt wiſhes, and removed doubts from the minds
" of millions. Go on! *Engliſhmen will be ready to ſecond*
" *your efforts!!!*" What ſpurious breed of Engliſhmen are theſe? What race of Engliſhmen have ſuffered themſelves to be led away by ſuch baſe-born cowards? Is it in the life-time of a Howe, a Hood, a Bridport, a St. Vincent, a Duncan, or a Nelſon, that they dare invite theſe enemies of the human race to come and pillage this flouriſhing country? Are the *ſans culottes* then to lord it in London ſtreets, bearing on pikes in ſanguinary triumph the heads of the beſt men of England, with the hideous yells of *Equality* and *Liberty?* Vainly ſhall ſuch ſycophants, in the hope of partaking of the general pillage and of deſpoiling their fellow-countrymen (for, from the *king to the peaſant*, ALL are declared *monopolizers*) ſpread the terror of French arms and the impoſſibility of reſiſting them. No; far from us be ſuch teachers and ſuch leaders, who only beguile the unheedy to lead them to beggary, wretchedneſs, or the gallows. ENGLISHMEN are *loyal*, *manly*, and *brave*; and when once they ſhall have unmaſked theſe inſidious brethren, they need never doubt of victory. But to return to the addreſs:—The nation is repreſented to be on the eve of bankruptcy; as making great progreſs in democracy; and as placing little confidence in the leaders of oppoſition (at leaſt ſuch was the explanation of that paſſage given by the Counſel for Mr. O'Connor). It then proceeds:

" Already have the Engliſh fraternized with the Iriſh
" and the Scots; *and a delegate* FROM EACH *now ſits*
" with us. The ſacred flame of liberty is rekindled, *the*
" *holy obligation* OF BROTHERHOOD *is received with en-*
" *thuſiaſm. Even* IN THE FLEETS *and Armies it makes*

"*some progress*. DISAFFECTION *prevails in both*, and "United Britain burns to break her chains."

I had forgotten to speak of a circumstance relating to the fleets. Englishmen have viewed with horror the scene of the *Hermione* frigate, whose crew rose on their officers, murdered them, and carried the ship into the enemy's port. They have seen many other plots laid (but fortunately discovered) to murder the officers and give up the ships to the enemy. Looking back to the oath administered to the military in Ireland, "to be true to the French," and the plans agreed upon "to murder their officers and deliver the arms up to the towns-people," the reader will not be so much at a loss to judge whence such atrocious plots could arise, or what *the progress of the* BROTHERHOOD *in the fleets* can mean. God forbid, that I should mention this with any idea of reproach to those gallant men who have since so gloriously obliterated every stain that could have attached to their conduct during the mutiny. They saw with regret that they had fallen victims to seduction, and they gloriously revenged themselves on the enemies of their country. They have counteracted the atrocious plans of the conspiring Brotherhood; and when I mentioned the mutiny, it was only to remind them, that *crafty seducers* could *perchance* surprize their natural honesty.

It continues: "United as we are, we only wait with "impatience to see the Hero of Italy, and the brave ve-"terans of the Great Nation. Myriads will hail their "arrival with shouts of joy; they will soon finish their "glorious campaign! *Tyranny will vanish from the* "*face of the earth, and, crowned with laurels, the in-*"*vincible army of France will return to its native coun-*"*try, there long to enjoy the well earned praise of a grate-*"*ful world, whose freedom they have purchased with their* "*blood.*" *(L. S.)*

Did sycophants ever beg more earnestly for the plunder and devastation of their fellow-countrymen; for they could no longer plead ignorance of the views of the French? Colonel Tate had made his descent on the coast of Wales the 22d of February, 1797, and his instructions, signed by Hoche,* the faithless conqueror of Quiberon,

* These instructions were much cavilled at by those papers that are ever sounding the praises of the French Revolution;

ordered him "to execute a *coup de main* on Briſtol;" for its deſtruction was "of the very laſt importance, and "every poſſible effort ſhould be made to accompliſh it," on account of its riches and commerce. The troops were to be landed by night "within five miles of the town, "in the greateſt ſilence, and being ſupplied with com-"buſtible matter, were to advance rapidly in the dark, "on that ſide of Briſtol which might be to windward, "and immediately ſet fire to that quarter. If the enter-"prize be conducted (they ſay) with dexterity, it cannot "fail to produce the *total ruin* of the town, the port, the "docks, and the veſſels, and to ſtrike terror and amaze-"ment into the very heart of the capital of England." Let the inhabitants of Briſtol now call on thoſe inſidious brethren who dare commune with them, and aſk them, Whether they alſo approve of this invitation of the brotherhood to the French, as they "*applauded and appro-*"*ved the reſolution of forming another general convention*" on the 24th of April, 1794, after the diſperſion of the Scotch Convention in December, 1793. After reading Hoche's Inſtructions, will they write again to the London Correſponding Society—"we read—we bluſhed—we "took courage—we did more; for we reſolved on re-aſ-"ſembling." If ſo they do, it is to be hoped that they will do it for the purpoſe of making public atonement to their fellow-townſmen for their paſt conduct; for they can no longer ſay "*'tis a noble—'tis a virtuous—'tis a-*"*god-like and immortal cauſe*—in which we are now mu-„ tually embarked."—(Appendix H.)

and even ſo late as the 31ſt of October, 1798, the COURIER boldly declares them to be a clumſy fabrication of the miniſterial writers. The Engliſh nation at large ſhould know that thoſe inſtructions were never doubted of by any well informed perſon, from the firſt ſeizure of them by Lord Cawdor in February, 1797; that they were depoſited at the Secretary of State's office; that they are alluded to in the report made the 9th of May, 1798, by the Houſe of Commons *On the treatment of priſoners of war*, and are publiſhed in the Appendix (*A. No. XC.*) to that report. When the reader is informed that an office is eſtabliſhed, *Rue du Bacq*, for the delivery of the COURIER at Paris, that it is ſtrongly recommended by a creature of the Directory, in one of their periodical papers, while all other Engliſh papers, *but one*, are proſcribed, his ſurprize will ceaſe, as it is natural to expect that ſome return muſt be made to the Directory by the editor of this paper for ſo marked a favor, though it were at the expenſe of truth.

The Inſtructions proceed: "The expedition under "Colonel Tate has in view three principal objects; the "firſt is, if poſſible, to raiſe an inſurrection in the coun- "try; the ſecond is, *to interrupt and embarraſs the com-* "*merce of the enemy*; and the third, to prepare and faci- "litate the way for a deſcent, by diſtracting the attention "of the Engliſh government.

"In all countries the poor are the claſs moſt prone to "inſurrection; *and this diſpoſition is to be cheriſhed by* "*diſtributing money and drink*; *by* INVEIGHING *againſt* "*the government*, AS THE CAUSE OF THE PUBLIC DIS- "TRESS; by recommending and facilitating a riſing, to "plunder the public ſtores and magazines, and the pro- "perty of the rich, whoſe affluence is the natural ſubject "of envy to the poor." By ſuch means "numbers of "artizans and workmen, of vagabonds and idlers, and "even malefactors," were to be attracted and "formed "into new companies under the command of French of- "ficers.

"The commerce of the enemy in the country is to be "interrupted by breaking down bridges, cutting off dykes, "and ruining cauſeways, which is, at the ſame time, es- "ſentially neceſſary for the preſervation of the army; by "plundering all convoys of ſubſiſtence, the public ſtages "and waggons, and even private carriages; the cutting "off the ſupplies of proviſions from the principal towns, "burning all veſſels and boats in the rivers and canals, "deſtroying magazines, ſetting fire to docks and coal- "yards, rope-walks, great manufactories, &c. &c. It is "to be obſerved likewiſe, that *by theſe means a crowd of* "*artizans will be thrown out of employ*, and of courſe "be ready to embark in any meaſure which holds out to "them ſubſiſtence and plunder without labor or fatigue." To be ſure, the poor, the workmen, and artizans, are here held out as a moſt profligate race; but Hoche, it is to be remembered, ſpeaks from the example of France, where the deſtruction of manufacturing towns was looked upon as a means of recruiting the Jacobin ranks. Secret ſocieties had prepared them for ſuch horrid deeds in France; and Sheffield, Birmingham, and Mancheſter, appear to have been the firſt objects of the *patriotic* labors of the ſecret ſocieties in England.

"Subſiſtence is to be ſeized wherever it can be found; "if any town or village refuſe to ſupply it at the moment,

" *it is to be given up to immediate pillage*; your soldiers " are to carry with them nothing but their arms; *they* " *will find every where clothes, linen, and shoes*; the in- " habitants *must supply your wants*, and the seats of the " gentry are to be your magazines. Wherever the le- " gion, or any of its columns, is posted, if the neighboring " parishes *do not give instant notice of the approach of the* " *enemy* by ringing bells, or otherwise, *they are to be giv-* " *en up* TO FIRE AND SWORD.

" With boldness and intelligence combined, you may " easily possess yourself of *Chester or Liverpool*, which " you will ruin *by burning the magazines, and filling up* " *the ports*, or at least you will cut off all communication " between those cities and the interior.—In order to " spread the consternation and astonishment as widely as " possible, after the destruction of Liverpool, *(for this* " *point is capital)*, you must follow your blow, and seize " upon some small town or sea-port on that coast, which " you will lay under contribution." Was it (I would ask) to prepare the town of Liverpool for such a fate that so early as 1792, some of its inhabitants entered into a direct correspondence with the London societies that were at that time addressing the Jacobins of Paris and *hailing them as brothers?* Did they then conceive, that within the space of six years an address would be sent to invite those Jacobins into England, bearing such instructions as are now laid before the reader?—During this time Hoche, in person was supposed to be in Ireland; and my reader may easily conceive, by these instructions, the horrors that he would have committed himself, had he succeeded in his attempt at Bantry-Bay. Two other French parties were to have been acting in concert with Tate, in all probability with similar instructions, in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland; and without doubt these parties, if successful, would have as *radically reformed* the constitution as could have been desired by that association at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, which wrote, on the 24th of April, 1794, to inform the London Corresponding Society how *cunningly* they met every week, " admitting none *but known* " *friends*, and assuming no name *but that of* NEWSPA- " PER-COMPANIES." News indeed! their town burnt, their port destroyed—Great news—bloody news for the FRIENDS. Should they, however, not have been the first object of the rapacity of the implacable enemy, and, learn-

ing by the example of Briſtol, have conceived hopes of preſerving their town, by petitioning his majeſty for a military force, would they (I make bold to aſk) patriotically finiſh their petition, by "Farewell, *hoping the* HYDRA OF TYRANNY AND IMPOSITION *ſhall ſoon fall* "*under the* GUILLOTINE OF TRUTH AND REASON!!" Let them learn before it is too late.—(*Appendix*, H. p. 121).

In February laſt, the United Britiſh were ſwearing in proſelytes in the Borough; and theſe ſeducers would have continued their ſeditious practices, had they not been put to flight by the magiſtrates of Union-hall; and John Cormick, in his declaration of July, 1798, ſtated, that "he "knows there is an agent for the United Britiſh reſident "in Paris, and that there are agents both for the United "Britiſh and Iriſh reſident at Hamburg."—(*Iriſh Ap. No. XXXII.*)—Thus are we led to July, 1798, by authentic documents, which will be more than enough to convince the moſt obſtinate ſceptick, that this conſpiring Sect is ever active and vigilant to betray its countrymen into the hands of the moſt implacable of enemies.

Would to God that every Engliſhman would reflect on the proceedings of Secret Societies! how clearly might he perceive their twofold object—of overturning a conſtitution that has led England to the ſummit of glory and proſperity; and of erecting a power, on bloodſhed, rapine, and the neglect of every ſocial duty. On the one ſide, we ſee the Rights of man, Equality and Liberty, ſet forth by theſe inſidious teachers, to prove to the induſtrious laboror and unwary artizan, that it is a breach of their rights to ſee the inhabitants of the earth diſtinguiſhed into claſſes ſubordinate to different ranks and ſubject to Superiors; that were theſe diſtinctions of *monopolizers* once broken, the people would be then repoſſeſſed of their impreſcriptible rights; that tyrannical laws would no longer repreſs the glorious zeal for the welfare of mankind, and deſpotically condemn thoſe *real patriots*, the friends of man and the defenders of their rights. The exiſting governments are repreſented as an infringement of the rights of the people; the magiſtrates and military as agents of deſpotiſm; the clergy as impoſtors. On the other ſide, to eſtabliſh the rebellious power of the Secret Societies, any number of perſons being rendered diſcontented by hearing the perpetual declamations of thoſe *po-*

litical libertines, an oath of ſecrecy and union is tendered to them; their curioſity and enthuſiaſm is next worked upon by the hopes of ſecrets of high importance; they make proſelytes; their aſſemblies ſoon become too numerous; it is hinted that it would be dangerous, under the exiſting circumſtances, to meet in ſuch numbers; it is propoſed and agreed that they ſhould divide, *by tens* for example; that, in order to eſtabliſh a ſort of ſubordination, each ſociety ſhould chooſe a delegate; then the ten delegates depute one of theirs to a higher degree; ſo from degree to degree we riſe to the *Grand and Regulating Committee.* One would think they had forgotten their declamations againſt rank and Superiors. The leaſt breach of ſecrecy is to be puniſhed by poiſon or the dagger. Disobedience is ſeverely puniſhed; and when we look to the Jacobin oath we find that neither *Father*, *Mother*, *Friend*, *Relation*, nor *even Miſtreſs*, are to be ſpared, when the good of the cauſe is in queſtion. Is it that a few rebels, ſtyling themſelves a Secret Committee, may in conjunction with the moſt inveterate enemies of theſe kingdoms plunder and deſpoil their fellow-countrymen, that Engliſhmen will hearken to theſe ſeducers? Shall a few frantic Jacobins, becauſe they are arrived at the ſummit of the pyramid, there to receive the loathſome fumes of blaſphemy and rebellion, lord it over a nation that can boaſt of a Sovereign whoſe virtues and paternal affection have rather made him the father than the ruler of the nation;—of a Houſe of Lords, deſcribed even by the Jacobin Lacroix, "as precious to the nation, becauſe it is a rampart of its "liberties,"—of a Houſe of Commons ever watchful of the real rights of the people, in ſpite of the declamations of the Brotherhood to repreſent it as the contrary;* over

* Few people would ſuſpect, that the debates in Parliament could ever be converted into a tool for the propagation of the views of the Correſponding Society. The following letter, however, will ſhow how carefully our anceſtors had foreſeen every danger, when they ordained that the debates ſhould be kept ſecret; it will alſo ſerve to explain the vehemence of many, on the occaſion of the recent clearing of the galleries and bar during certain debates of high and tickliſh importance, ſuch, for example, as the Iriſh buſineſs. This letter from the London Correſponding Society (Appendix E. March 4, 1793) is written to a ſociety at Sheffield: "With regard to petitioning "Parliament, we are unanimous in the opinion, that ſuch a "petition will not produce a reform; yet, from many conſi-

a nation, in ſhort, that can boaſt of Laws which, formed by the mutual conſent of King, Lords, and Commons, have led it to unparalleled glory, proſperity, and riches? Is it to men who have been ſeated on juries, who have attended the public courts of juſtice, that theſe ſeducers ſhall hold forth on the mal-adminiſtration of juſtice? Shall a loyal army and victorious navy be repreſented as the agents of deſpotiſm and tyranny, becauſe they will not murder their officers and deſert to the enemy?—No, Engliſhmen; ſuch efforts ſhall ever meet with the contempt they deſerve; union, honeſty, and loyalty, ſhall lead us to victory; and, ever mindful of our duties to God and man, we may bid defiance to the malignity of our internal, and the rapacity of our external foes.

So be it!

" derations, we are now perſuaded, that if every ſociety in the " iſland would ſend forward a petition, we ſhould ultimately " gain ground; for as much as *it will force the preſent mem-* " *bers of the ſenate repeatedly to diſcuſs the ſubject: and their* " *deliberations, printed in the different newſpapers*, will moſt " naturally awaken *the public mind towards the object of our* " *purſuit*; the nation once informed that a reform in Parlia- " ment is ſought for from different quarters, gives riſe to de- " bates in the Houſe of Commons, and is acknowledged by " every rank to be wanting, *will begin to exerciſe its own rea-* " *ſon* on the ſubject (probably, as we have ſeen five or ſix me- " chanics of Sheffield doing). Arrived at that period, we pre- " ſume that our buſineſs will be nearly accompliſhed."

END OF THE FOURTH AND LAST PART.